Mr. Duff 3 Dec. 1792

MEMOIRS

OF

MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,

DUKE OF SULLY,

PRIME MINISTER TO

HENRY THE GREAT.

6

CONTAINING

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH, And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of HENRY THE GREAT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

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SUMMARY

OF THE

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS OF SULLY.

BOOK. XI.

THE time ſettled for the agreement about the marquiſate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had elapſed without any deciſion by his holineſs, becauſe the duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other perſon that it could not be favourable for him, had, to * elude the ſentence, made uſe of all thoſe arts that were generally practiſed in this little court, whoſe policy it was, when its ſafety or advantage was in queſtion, to employ cunning, treachery, ſubmiſſion, and the appearance of the ſtrongeſt attachments. The firſt thought that preſented itſelf to the duke of Savoy's mind was, to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itſelf with the holy ſee: but as this proceeding ſeemed too diſingenuous, he had recourſe to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily reſign the arbitration: he appriſed his ambaſſador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy, that Clement VIII had ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the king, on a private condition, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould engage to yield afterwards to the

* This marquiſate was a transferable fief of Dauphine, to which the houſe of Savoy had no right,

pope himſelf all his claims upon the marquiſate of Saluces. The ambaſſador, who was firſt impoſed upon by his maſter, explained himſelf in ſuch a manner upon this colluſion, that his holineſs, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, reſigned it with indignation.

The duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to underſtand, that he would rely intirely upon him, without having recourſe to any foreign arbitration upon the diſpute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the ſubject of their conteſt, which he took care to have repreſented to him, as a thing of ſuch ſmall value, that it could not merit the attention of ſo great a king. And it was with theſe inſtructions that the ſieurs de Jacob, de la Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

With views of this nature the miniſter and the confident of the prince is commonly the perſon whom they begin to engage in their intereſt, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he ſhould not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the deſign with which they come, and in their diſcourſe make no longer any uſe of that caution which is obſerved in a congreſs. Theſe gentlemen therefore told me, that their maſter did not pretend to hold the marquiſate of Saluces of his majeſty any otherwiſe than as a mere gift of his munificence; and at the ſame time inſinuated to me plainly enough, that this preſent would produce from the duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the requeſt, and my ſolicitude to ſecure its ſucceſs. I would not ſeem to underſtand theſe laſt words: and with regard to the firſt, I told the agents daily, that ſince, as they well knew, no one could beſtow upon another what was not immediately in his own poſſeſſion, it was neceſſary the duke

duke of Savoy ſhould firſt begin by reſigning all claim to the marquiſate of Saluces; and that then his majeſty, who I aſſured them had no leſs greatneſs of mind than his highneſs, would uſe his power royally. And I very earneſtly intreated them to addreſs themſelves directly to the king: which they did, diſcouraged with the manner I ſpoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared ſo reſolute upon every thing which regarded that ſtate, that after ſeveral uſeleſs attempts, they laid aſide all thoughts of ſucceeding this way.

FINDING all France, and the court itſelf, filled with malecontents and mutinous perſons, they imagined that by puſhing them on to ſome violent reſolution, they might give Henry ſufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him loſe ſight of all that paſſed without. The duke of Savoy's preſence appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to engage more cloſely thoſe lords that liſtened to their ſuggeſtions; and they wrote to him, that his intereſt required that he ſhould take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly ſuited to the duke's character *; he conſented to it; and ordered them to demand his majeſty's leave for that purpoſe; which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reaſon. But the duke of Savoy had deprived him of the leaſt pretence, by proteſting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himſelf treat with his majeſty; or rather, that he came to ſubmit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with ſo many complaints againſt Spain, that he ſeemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of ſecurity on an union with France. He had a ſhort time before refuſed an advantageous propoſal made him by

* It is ſaid, that this prince, during his reſidence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into "this kingdom to reap, but to ſow."

the king of Spain, to ſend his ſon and his eldeſt daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this ſtep of the duke of Savoy, the pope was fully determined to concern himſelf no farther with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which from the very firſt appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary; namely, to give up no part of that ſatisfaction which was due to him by the duke, and to diſcover all his tranſactions with the malecontents of his court.

Among theſe the king always gave marechal Biron the firſt rank. His majeſty knew, that during the ſtay this marechal made in Guienne, he had ſolicited the nobility of that province to engage in his intereſts; and that at his own table he had had ſuch converſations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and inſolence of his diſpoſition; but what gave moſt weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all poſſible caution, came at the ſame time to his majeſty's knowledge. And the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to diſconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleaſure, to paſs the ſummer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he ſaid, ſome of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewiſe, in the ſtate things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I attended his majeſty, whoſe ſtay at Blois produced nothing of conſequence enough to be mentioned: he paſſed his time there in the employment I have already ſpoken of, and in endeavouring to procure the ſo earneſtly deſired diſſolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the ducheſs of Beaufort lived no one was ſolicitous to preſs Henry to a divorce, either becauſe they apprehended

prehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his miſtreſs, who was univerſally hated, or that they did not care to expoſe themſelves to the rage of this woman; who was alway to be feared, even though her deſigns ſhould not ſucceed: but as ſoon as ſhe was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to ſolicit him on this ſubject. The procurer-general came to his majeſty, and intreated him to give his ſubjects this ſatisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promiſed however, to yield to the deſires of his people.

I NOW reſumed my correſpondence with queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obſtacle which this princeſs made, on madam de Beaufort's account, to the conſent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a reſource to which, probably every one muſt have applied; and it was this only that could have reſtrained the court of Rome, if the king had ſuffered himſelf at laſt to be gained by his miſtreſs: beſides, the compliance I obſerved in Margaret, aſſured me that ſhe did not make it a pretence for an abſolute refuſal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the anſwer ſhe wrote me from Uſſon, to a letter I had juſt ſent her, in which I mentioned the ſacrifice that was expected from her, in very reſpectful, but in very clear terms, as ſuch negotiations require. Margaret, on her ſide, to ſhew that ſhe perfectly underſtood what was to be done, explained herſelf abſolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it ſuch reaſonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future; ſhe only deſired a decent penſion might be aſſigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the king, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be ſuſpected: this was Langlois, who had ſerved his majeſty ſo faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for

ſt with the poſt of maſter of the requeſts. It was not eaſy to find a man who was more capable of buſineſs: he brought his majeſty an anſwer from Margaret *; for the king thought he likewiſe was under a neceſſity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodneſs and complaiſance, but in terms far leſs explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a ſtate of this princeſs's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holineſs to underſtand, that ſhe was far from being conſtrained to this act; that ſhe had the ſame ſolicitude for the concluſion of this affair as all France had. D'Oſſat, provided with a writing of the ſame kind, found no more obſtacles: he was ſeconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the ſcandal of his firſt commiſſion. The holy father uſed no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not ſuffer himſelf to be influenced by ſuggeſtions of envious perſons, a deteſtable ſort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the biſhop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finiſhing hand to this affair, which could be only done in France; aſſociating with him two commiſſioners of that nation, the archbiſhop of † Arles, and the cardinal de Joyeuſe: the courſe they were to take, was to

* See theſe two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the new collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

† Horace del Monte, the archbiſhop of Arles, and Francois de Joyeuſe, the ſecond ſon of William de Joyeuſe. Theſe three commiſſaries having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, biſhop of Paris, after maturely examining the reaſons alledged on both ſides, declared the marriage void, by reaſon of conſanguinity, different religion, ſpiritual affinity, compulſion, and for want of the conſent of one of the parties; for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who alſo was called Margaret, being the ſiſter of Francis I. See the hiſtory and pieces concerning this divorce, in Matthieu, tom. II. b. ii. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.

declare

declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

WHILE this affair was haſtening towards a concluſion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diverſions, and the pleaſures of the table, heard mademoiſelle d'Entragues ‡ often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, ſpoke ſo advantageouſly of the beauty, wit, and ſprightlineſs of this young lady, that the king had a deſire to ſee her, and became immediately paſſionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreſeen the uneaſineſs this new paſſion was to give him! but it was Henry's fate, that the ſame weakneſs which obſcured his glory ſhould likewiſe deſtroy the tranquility of his life.

THE lady was no novice: although ſenſible of the pleaſure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her predominant paſſion; and ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe might make ſo good uſe of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her huſband. She did not therefore ſeem in haſte to yield to his deſires; pride, chaſtity, and intereſt, were employed in their turns; ſhe demanded no leſs than one hundred thouſand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that ſhe had only increaſed Henry's paſſion, by an obſtacle, in my opinion much more likely to cool it, ſince his majeſty was obliged to tear this ſum from me by violence, ſhe no longer deſpaired of any thing, and had recourſe to other artifices; ſhe alledged the reſtraint her relations † kept her

‡ Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, Marcouſſy, and de Maleſherbes, by Mary Touchet, miſtreſs to Charles IX. whom he married for his ſecond wife. The writings of thoſe times repreſent her as not ſo beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and ſtill more gay, ambitious, and enterprizing. This ſketch, which correſponds with what the duke de Sully ſays here, will be very much confirmed in the ſequel of theſe memoirs.

† This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the marechal de Baſſompierre, in his Memoirs, her mother was indeed very condeſcending in this affair; and it was even ſhe that drew the king to Maleſherbes, a houſe where ſhe lived: but her father

in, and the fear of their reſentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all theſe ſcruples, but could not ſatisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared that ſhe would never grant him any thing unleſs he would give her a promiſe, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, ſhe ſaid (accompanying this ſtrange requeſt with an air of modeſty, with which ſhe well knew how to enflame the king) that ſhe aſked for this promiſe, to her a verbal one had been ſufficient, or, indeed, ſhe would have required none of any kind, being ſenſible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that ſhe would have occaſion for ſuch a writing, to ſerve as an excuſe for her fault to her relations; and obſerving that the king ſtill heſitated, ſhe had the addreſs to hint, that in reality ſhe ſhould look upon this promiſe as of very little conſequence, knowing well the king was not to be ſummoned to a court of juſtice like one of his common ſubjects.

What a ſtriking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not ſo dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewiſe thoſe reaſons he had to believe her far from being a veſtal, or thoſe intrigues againſt the ſtate, of which her father, mother, or brother, and even herſelf, had been convicted, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had ſo lately ſignified to them from his majeſty; notwithſtanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his miſtreſs's deſires, and promiſed to grant her requeſt.

One morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontaine-

was not ſo complying, any more than the count d'Auvergne, half-brother by the mother to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occaſion: and they carried the lady to Marcouſſis, where the king nevertheleſs went to ſee her. Tom. I.

bleau,

bleau, and put this ſhameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of juſtice, which I am ſo much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader muſt perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that, in the greateſt exceſſes to which he was hurried by his paſſions, he always ſubmitted to a candid confeſſion of them, and to conſult with thoſe perſons who he knew were moſt likely to oppoſe his deſigns. This is an inſtance of rectitude and greatneſs of ſoul, rarely to be found amongſt princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the ſtab of a poignard, Henry ſometimes turned aſide to conceal his confuſion, and ſometimes endeavoured to gain over his confident by condemning and excuſing himſelf by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clauſe of marrying a miſtreſs, provided ſhe bore him a ſon in the ſpace of a year (for it was conceived in theſe terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the ſhame and contempt the king muſt neceſſarily incur, by a promiſe which, ſooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confuſion. I was alſo afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep in the preſent conjuncture whilſt the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me ſilent and motionleſs.

Henry, ſeeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a viſible agitation of mind, ſaid to me, "Come, come, ſpeak freely, and do not aſ-"ſume all this reſerve." I could not immediately find words to expreſs my thoughts, nor need I here aſſign reaſons for my perplexity, which may be eaſily imagined by thoſe who know what it is to be the confident of a king, on occaſions when there is a neceſſity of combating his reſolution, which is always abſolute and unalterable. The king again aſſured me that I might ſay and do what I pleaſed, without offending him; which was but a juſt

amends, he ſaid, for having forced from me three hundred thouſand livres. I obliged him to repeat this aſſurance ſeveral times, and even to ſeal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer heſitating to diſcover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands, and tore it to pieces, without ſaying a word. "How!" ſaid Henry, aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of this action, "*Morbieu!* what do you "mean to do? I think you are mad?" "I am mad, "I acknowledge, ſire, replied I, and would to God "I was the only madman in France." My reſolution was taken, and I was prepared to ſuffer every thing, rather than, by a pernicious deference and reſpect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithſtanding the rage I ſaw that inſtant impreſſed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of my writing, to ſerve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to repreſent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the ſubject may be imagined to ſuggeſt to me. The king, angry as he was, liſtened till I had done ſpeaking, but, overcome by his paſſion, nothing was capable of altering his reſolution; the only effort he made was not to baniſh from his preſence a confident too ſincere. He went out of the gallery without ſaying a ſingle word to me, and returned to his cloſet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a ſtandiſh and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promiſe. I was at the foot of the ſtaircaſe when he deſcended; he paſſed by without ſeeming to ſee me, and went to Maleſherbes to hunt, where he ſtaid two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no ſtop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being ſought for for the king, but rather that it ſhould haſten both: his majeſty's agents at Rome made therefore the firſt overture of a marriage between Henry and the princeſs Mary of Medicis ‡,

Medicis ‡, daughter to the grand duke of Florence. The king ſuffered us to proceed in this buſineſs, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even appointed the conſtable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and I, to treat with the perſon whom the grand duke ſhould ſend to Paris. We were reſolved not to let the affair ſleep. Joannini, the perſon deputed by the grand duke, was no ſooner arrived, than the articles were inſtantly drawn and ſigned by us all.

I WAS pitched upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the buſineſs would have been concluded ſo ſuddenly. As ſoon as I replied to his queſtion from whence I came, "We "come, ſire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been ſtruck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber haſtily, delivering himſelf up to reflections, with which his mind was ſo violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had repreſented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himſelf like a man who had taken his reſolution, "Well!" ſaid he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *depardieu!* be it ſo, there is no remedy: "if for the good of my kingdom I muſt marry, I "muſt." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of ſucceeding no better in his ſecond than his firſt marriage was the cauſe of his irreſolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himſelf with glory and ſucceſs from a thouſand cruel diſſentions, which war and policy had occaſioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domeſtic quarrels, and ſeemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice ſent from a capuchin of Mi-

‡ Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis grand duke of Tuſcany, by the arch-ducheſs Jane of Auſtria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion ſix hundred thouſand crowns, beſides rings and jewels. La Chronologie Septennaire, annò 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 336, give an account of the negotiations of d'Oſſat and de Sillery, relating to his marriage.

lan *, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was ſeized in the midſt of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not ſolemnized till the following year.

OTHER foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are theſe; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorouſly begun when the archduke went into thoſe provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbad his ſubjects to bear arms in the ſervice of the States, but this was merely for form's ſake, policy not permitting him to ſuffer the Flemings to be oppreſſed. His majeſty not only forbore to puniſh thoſe who diſobeyed theſe orders, but likewiſe aſſiſted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I ſhall ſay nothing of, except that the duke of Mercœur aſked and obtained leave to ſerve in the troops of the emperor Rodolph; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland † was dethroned by his ſubjects, who put his uncle Charles duke of Sudermania in his place; and loſt all hope of ever being reſtored, by the defeat he received from his rival.

WITH reſpect to my own perſonal affairs, this was the moſt conſiderable. This year the princeſs d'Epinoi ‡, came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my intereſt with the king againſt the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to uſurp her eſtate, and that of her children. Theſe children were five in number, four of whom, three ſons and her eldeſt

* His name was Frere Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himſelf for it, and cauſed ſeveral advantageous offers to be made him by his ambaſſado at Rome. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 302.

† Sigiſmond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-eſtabliſh the catholic religion in Sweden. See, with regard to all theſe foreign affairs, De Thou, le Septennarie, and other hiſtorians, an. 1599.

‡ Hippolite de Montmorency, widow of Peter de Melun, prince d'Epinoi, died in 1594. The princes de Ligne, of whom he ſpeaks here, are l'Amoral prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, that married Mary de Melun, who had the ſeigniories of Roubais, d'Antoing, and his brothers.

daughter,

daughter, ſhe had brought with her: the youngeſt was educated under the care of madam de Roubais, widow of the viſcount de Gand her uncle and mine. The princeſs told me, that the neareſt relation by the father's ſide which her children had in France being myſelf, it was fit I ſhould be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this truſt, to procure them juſtice; and had the ſatisfaction at the end of ſeven years, during which time I took the ſame care of theſe children as my own, to reſtore to them the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thouſand livres a year. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majeſty.

About the ſame time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my aſſiſtance in procuring leave for them to eſtabliſh manufactures of ſilks, and of gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, aſſuring me that they had ſufficient to ſupply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their anſwer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to diſſuade them from an enterpriſe, which could not miſcarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refuſal, they addreſſed themſelves directly to his majeſty. I thought it neceſſary not to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment, which, if well conducted, might be of great uſe. The king, overcome by their importunity, granted all they aſked; but ſix months was ſcarce paſſed, when, for want of having taken proper meaſures, they came to get their commiſſions revoked, which had given general diſcontent on account of the inconveniency and increaſe of expence to the purchaſers, which had been produced by this new regulation *.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whoſe profits the new prohibition had conſiderably diminiſhed, likewiſe

THE king, believing the affair of the marquiſate of Saluces would not be finiſhed without ſtriking a blow for it, had, for ſome time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand maſter of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himſelf well of them, and above all of acting by himſelf; this good old d'Eſtrées was not able to do: however, his majeſty would not take away the poſt from him, for his childrens ſake, of whom Monſieur d'Eſtrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder de Born being deſirous of reſigning the poſt of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to thoſe of the grand maſter of the ordnance, although I was not inveſted with this laſt. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the firſt, already very conſiderable, by raiſing it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the ſalary, and laſtly, by granting the patents gratis. However, I muſt acknowledge, that I was not to be won by theſe offers, and could not reſolve to ſerve under another, after having been diſappointed of the firſt place: I therefore excuſed myſelf, upon the buſineſs I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be impoſed upon by this anſwer; and, after many ſolicitations which I knew how to defend myſelf againſt, he left me in anger, telling

likewiſe contributed not a little to its revocation. Chronologie Septennarie, p. 94. an. 1599. The caſe is the ſame with regard to theſe ſtuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which ſhould ſubſiſt between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this reſpect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out the methods of manufacturing theſe ſtuffs ourſelves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian ſtuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wiſhed that we would be more careful to forbear the uſe of the latter, or rather make in France ſuch ſtuffs as would ſerve inſtead of theſe which are ſo commodious and ſerviceable.

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me that he would mention it to me no more, but, that ſince I would liſten to nothing but my caprice, he would take his own way.

His kindneſs for me made him that moment forget his threat. He cauſed a propoſal to be made to monſieur d' Eſtrées to reſign his employment, which, as ſoon as I was informed of, I offered, by monſieur, and madam du Peche, three thouſand crowns to madam de Nery, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his conſent. The maſter of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his poſt. The king immediately acquainted me with his reſolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquiſate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to ſay, without a great number of very difficult ſieges; for that is the uſual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majeſty, and agreed with d'Eſtrées for eighty thouſand crowns; all theſe petty claims riſing to a conſiderable ſum more, I was, on this occaſion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thouſand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was ſolemnly inveſted with the dignity * of grand maſter of the ordnance, and took the uſual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty-four thouſand livres. I

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome, in the place where he gives us the liſt of the grand maſters of the ordnance, ſpeaks thus, "Since M. de Roſny has had this charge of grand maſter, who undoubtedly does the "place ſo much honour, the arſenal is in very good order, owing to "his great capacity and application, eſpecially as the importance of "the thing itielf and his own good ſenſe would have it ſo. Witneſs "what he performed in the laſt war with Savoy, where, in a ſhort "time, he gave proof of very quick diſpatch and diligence, by being "ſooner in the field than he was expected." Ves des hommes illuſtres, art. M. *Roſny*. tom. I. p. 227, 228.

thought myſelf obliged, in gratitude to his majeſty for this laſt inſtance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I viſited the arſenal, where every thing ſeemed to me in ſuch a miſerable condition, that I reſolved to take up my reſidence there, that I might apply myſelf wholly towards its re-eſtabliſhment, although this caſtle was then very ill built and deſtitute of every conveniency.

The affairs of the artillery were ſtill worſe. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who not having the ſlighteſt notion of their trade, were, in fact, only the ſervants of the officers of the court of juſtice. I caſhiered about five hundred of them at one ſtroke. I conferred next with the commiſſaries for ſaltpetre, and agreed with them for a conſiderable proviſion of powder, which I ſhewed to the king. I treated likewiſe with the maſters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cart-wrights and carpenters, for the wood-work neceſſary for the deſigns I had formed. His majeſty came to viſit his arſenal himſelf, fifteen days after I was ſettled there; and theſe viſits became afterwards one of his chief amuſements: he took pleaſure in ſeeing all the preparations thatwere making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myſelf to them.

That diligence indeed was no more than neceſſary in the preſent poſture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the ſubject of theſe memoirs for all the following year. It was at the end of this, that the duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with thoſe intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promiſed himſelf from his artifices. The reflections which the paſt conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character gave riſe to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewiſe ſomething

thing ſtill more poſitive againſt him: Leſdiguieres had ſent advice to his majeſty, that the duke was fortifying his caſtles and towns with great care, eſpecially thoſe of Breſſe, and furniſhing them with ammunition and proviſions. It was known, by means of the count de Carces and the ſieur du Paſſage, that he had ſtrongly ſolicited the court of Madrid, and preſſed the pope, to procure a ſecond reference of the affair; repreſenting to him, that it was the intereſt of all Italy not to ſuffer that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould poſſeſs any thing beyond the Alps. The French reſident at Florence ſent advice, that the duke's purpoſe, by coming into France, was to circumvent the king; who, on his ſide, was perſuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himſelf who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the king of Spain and other princes of Italy; for theſe laſt were at no pains to conceal their diſlike of the duke of Savoy's ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit: and the king of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Compté, of more value than the two Caſtiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent ſallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had abſolutely ruined their former good correſpondence.

The event proved the juſtneſs of thoſe obſervations which the letter the king ſhewed me from Leſdiguieres occaſioned; but in public he ſhewed no reſentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to ſpare no expence to give him, at Lyons, ſuch reception as is due to foreign ſovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cauſe to complain of me upon this account: but meſſieurs the counts of Saint-John * did not act

† It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 332. that the canons of Lyons refuſed the duke of Savoy the place

in the ſame manner; they denied him certain honours which the dukes of Savoy claimed in the aſſembly of canons as counts of Villars. It was at Fontainebleau and at Paris where the ſhew was moſt magnificent. The ‡ duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with ſplendor ſuitable to his rank.

THREE days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was deſirous of ſhewing him the new regulations in the arſenal, ſent me notice that he would come and ſup there with the duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The duke of Savoy came ſo long before, that I could not impute ſuch extraordinary haſte to meer accident. He deſired to ſee the magazines; which was not what I wanted; I was aſhamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houſes. Twenty cannons lately caſt, and as many more in a readineſs for it, forty completely mounted, and ſeveral other works which he ſaw carrying on with great diligence, ſurpriſed him ſo much, that he could not help aſking me what I meant by all theſe preparations? Sir, replied I, ſmiling, to take Montmelian. The duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little diſconcerted him, aſked, with an air of gaiety and freedom, if I had ever been there; and upon my anſwering him in the negative, "Tru-"ly, I thought ſo, ſaid he, or you would not have "talked of taking it; Montmelian is impregnable." I anſwered in the ſame tone, that I would not adviſe him to oblige the king to make the attempt, becauſe

place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke his father, and that for a very obvious reaſon, the houſe of Savoy having ſince that time loſt poſſeſſion of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony conſiſted in preſenting ſome ſacred veſtments to the duke at the entrance of the cloyſter, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

‡ Notwithſtanding this magnificent reception, the duke of Savoy, after the firſt conference he had with Henry IV. became ſenſible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my meſ-"ſage, ſaid he, and may now go whenever I will." Matthieu ſur le Voyage de ce prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

I was very certain that Montmelian would, in that caſe, loſe the title of impregnable.

THESE words gave our converſation immediately a very ſerious turn. The duke of Savoy taking occaſion to mention the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me ſenſible that he knew I was not in his intereſt, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his majeſty: and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleaſure. However, the ſame night commiſſioners were named for examining the occaſion of the conteſt: the conſtable, the chancellor, marechal Biron, Meiſſe, Villeroi, and myſelf, were appointed for the king; and for the duke of Savoy, Belly his chancellor, the marquis de Lullin, the ſieurs de Jacob, the Count de Morette, the Chevalier de Bretons, and des Allymes.

THE duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commiſſioners to his intereſts: he gained them completely at laſt, by the liberal gifts which he beſtowed both on them and the whole court* at the new year. But I was the perſon that gave him moſt trouble; for every time, when the queſtion was debated among the commiſſioners, I conſtantly held firm to this determination, either that a reſtitution ſhould be made to his majeſty of the marquiſate of Saluces, or that Breſſe, and all the border of the Rhone from Geneva to Lyons, ſhould

* The duke ſent the king two large baſons and two cryſtal vaſes, as a new year's gift. "In return of which, the king gave the duke "a crochet of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his "majeſty's picture: it was a very fine piece, and the duke had a "great value for it: he made preſents to all who came to compli-"ment him." Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. It was ſaid that he had gained over the ducheſs of Beaufort to his intereſt. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the reſtitution of Saluces might have been diſpenſed with. The duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bet of 4000 piſtoles, the king neglected his play, ſuppoſing that he had already won the game: but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himſelf with ſhewing the cards to the dukes of Guiſe and D'Aubigné, who were preſent, and then ſhuffled them together. It is D'Aubigné that relates this circumſtance of the duke's generoſity or policy.

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be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of ſuch a proceeding, they would have ſolicited by excluſion from the meetings: therefore they had again recourſe to an attempt to gain me, which they reſolved to do at any price whatſoever.

On the 5th of January, Des Allymes † came to make me the uſual compliments, in the name of his highneſs: he intreated me, with great politeneſs, to attend to his maſter's reaſons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the ſame time that he made me this requeſt, he preſented me with his highneſs's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thouſand crowns value. To aſſiſt me in making a compoſition with my conſcience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me buſy in admiring the brilliants, added, that this was given me by a prince whoſe attachment to the king was equal to his friendſhip for me. I ſtill kept the picture in my hand, and aſked Des Allymes what were the propoſals he had to make me? He, who thought the deciſive moment was now come, immediately diſplayed his whole ſtock of eloquence; and, for want of good reaſons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his maſter with Spain, who offered to aſſiſt the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itſelf. All this coſt him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to diſpoſe abſolutely of theſe dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquiſate.

I could keep ſilence no longer. I told des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquiſate of Saluces to be reſtored to him, it was not on account of its value, ſince that was very inconſiderable; but he could not in honour ſuffer the crown to be diſ-

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambaſſador from Savoy to the court of France.

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membered of one of its ancient domains, and which had been uſurped at a time when the duke of Savoy, having received the higheſt obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abſtained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expreſſions in my favour; and, to pay his compliments with others, aſſured him, that when the duke of Savoy had made an abſolute reſtitution of Saluces, I would not forget to uſe my intereſt with his majeſty, to engage him to procure thoſe opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majeſty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praiſing the workmanſhip and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the preſent was the only reaſon which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to r[illegible]n the box and the diamonds, I would keep the p[illegible]re with great pleaſure, in remembrance of a prince ſo obliging. Accordingly I ſeparated the box and diamonds from the picture, when Des Allymes telling me, that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his maſter's preſents, I intreated him to take back all together. And he left me in deſpair of ever being able to engage me in his maſter's intereſt, and appeared but little ſatisfied with my behaviour.

All that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majeſty's refuſing to gratify them in this requeſt, the duke of Savoy took it in his head to deſire, that the patriarch * of Conſtantinople might aſſiſt at theſe meetings in the name of the pope; which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this propoſition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the aſſembly to be kept at the conſtable's houſe, becauſe

* Father Bonaventura de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio.

he

he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had ſeen the conference begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commiſſioners to have a ſtrict regard to juſtice; and whiſpering me in particular, "Take care of every "thing, ſaid he, and do not ſuffer them to impoſe "upon you."

Upon the king's departure, I found, that inſtead of taking their ſeats, they divided into parties, two or three together, and the nuncio ſometimes conferring with one ſet, ſometimes with another, not ſuffering the buſineſs to be entered upon regularly: and, above all, carefully avoiding to ſay any thing to me. At length, Bellievre told me, that the good patriarch could not ſubdue his ſcruples about converſing with an huguenot; and intreated me, in the name of the aſſembly, to abſent myſelf, ſince nothing could be done while I was preſent. I inſtantly comprehended the cauſe of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had paſſed. I met him in the gallery, where he had ſtopped to ſpeak to Bellengreville: he aſked me with ſome ſurprize, if all was over already? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commiſſioners, and tell them, that if there was any perſon amongſt them to whom my preſence was diſpleaſing, it was his buſineſs to withdraw, not mine. I diſturbed a little the joy of the aſſembly, by repeating this new order of the king's. The meaſures they took were, to waſte the hours in ſeeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the queſtion till the afternoon. But notwithſtanding all their endeavours with his majeſty, I continued ſtill in the number of the commiſſioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquiſh his reluctance.

Bretons and Roncas turned themſelves on every ſide,

ſide, to avoid yielding to a reſtitution of the marquiſate; they offered to do homage for it to his majeſty, and if that was not ſufficient, to hold Breſſe upon the ſame conditions. I eaſily rendered all theſe propoſals ineffectual, and got it unanimouſly declared, to give the duke of Savoy this alternative, either to reſign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Breſſe as far as the river of Dain, the vicarſhip of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouſe, and Pignerol; in which caſe, all the towns and fortreſſes taken on both ſides were to be reſtored *.

THE duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commiſſioners; but the truth is, they durſt not openly oppoſe a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the reſource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in ſupporting the intereſt of the duke of Savoy: and were continually repreſenting to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorouſly with a prince, whoſe alliance he might purchaſe at a very inconſiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preſerve. The alternative they offered the duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him ſix months to come to a reſolution: he deſired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no neceſſity for any delay. I went to his majeſty to acquaint him with this reſolution, which was taken in ſpite of me, and repreſented to him the great inconveniency of giving the duke of Savoy ſo long a time to renew his correſpondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced

† A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commiſſaries, which it was much ſuſpected the duke of Savoy would not obſerve, becauſe of the delays he deſired: whereupon, as Le Grain relates it, a certain perſon propoſed to Henry, that the duke of Savoy ſhould be ſeized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this propoſal was rejected by the king. See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the duke's reſidence at Paris, in M. De Thou, and Le Septennaire, an. 1599, 1600.

by

by the diſcourſe of the courtiers on the neceſſity of granting a delay to the duke of Savoy, aſked me how it was poſſible to do otherwiſe? "By granting the "duke of Savoy, ſaid I, an honourable eſcort of "fifteen thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and "twenty cannon, to conduct him to Montmelian, "or what other place he ſhall chuſe to go to, and "there oblige him to explain himſelf upon the al-"ternative that has been propoſed to him." The king did not approve of my advice, his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly perſuaded, that, but for compliance, his majeſty might have avoided a war, and have received complete ſatisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months ſhould be taken from the ſix that had been agreed upon.

THE duke of Savoy, finding that his majeſty, who was weary of the continual ſolicitations that were made him on this ſubject, would no longer anſwer otherwiſe than in theſe few words, *I am reſolved to have my marquiſate*, ſet out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time preſcribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himſelf in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occaſion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had ſucceeded. She had undertaken to poiſon the king †, and thought to have engaged the count of Soiſſons, who, on all occaſions made known his diſcontent, in her deſign; but he conceived ſo great an horror at it, that he

† By procuring her huſband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, by the intereſt of the count de Soiſſons, ſteward of the houſhold. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry himſelf at St. Denis, where ſhe kept one of the principal inns during the war. The count of Soiſſons, to whom ſhe had hinted, that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greateſt princes in the world, ſuſpecting that this woman had ſome bad deſign, cauſed Lomenie to conceal himſelf in a cloſet, which gave him an opportunity of diſcovering what means ſhe intended to uſe. She was accuſed of practiſing ſorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and ſomewhat diſordered in her ſenſes. Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600.

diſ-

diſcovered her immediately: ſhe confeſſed her crime, and was burnt.

NOTHING remarkable happened during theſe three months, except the diſpute between meſſieurs Du Perron and Du Pleſſis. Towards the latter end of the laſt year, appeared a book ‡ of Du Pleſſis upon

‡ This book is intitled, Inſtructions de la ſainte euchariſtie, and attacks the maſs by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As ſoon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed againſt the falſhood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du Pleſſis to offer a kind of challenge, which theſe doctors prevailed upon the biſhop of Evreux to accept. After ſeveral letters, and ſteps taken on both ſides to ſettle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du Pleſſis repented more than once of having gone ſo far; the king determined that there ſhould be a public diſpute between the two antagoniſts, wherein fifty of theſe paſſages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. Du Perron had excepted againſt. They met in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, in the preſence of the king and commiſſaries appointed by him: thoſe for the catholics were the preſident De Thou, the advocate Pithou, and the ſieur Marten, reader and phyſician to his majeſty; for the calviniſts, Freſne-Canaye, and Caſaubon. They met on Thurſday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the forenoon. Of ſixty-one paſſages which Du Perron ſent to his antagoniſts, the latter was only prepared on nineteen of them, which he had ſelected from all the reſt: as to theſe, ſaid he to the king, I will loſe my reputation or life, if one of them be found falſe. However, he was convicted of an unfair repreſentation in all thoſe that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the chancellor then declared the opinions of all preſent, upon theſe nine articles ſeverally, that in the firſt, which was from Scotus, and the ſecond from Durandus, Du Pleſſis had taken the objection for the anſwer; in the third and fourth from St. Chryſoſtom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted ſome of the moſt material words; in the ſixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril; on the ſeventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falſified the text: as to the eighth, which included two propoſitions from St Bernard, that Du Pleſſis ought to have ſeparated them, or at leaſt to have put an &c. between: with regard to the ninth from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du Pleſſis Mornay, being ſeized with an indiſpoſition next day, went to Saumur ſome days after, without taking leave of the king. Freſne-Canaye, one of the commiſſioners, and Saint Marie du Mont, another eminent proteſtant, were ſoon after this diſpute, in which Henry himſelf ſometimes ſpoke, converted to the catholic faith. Du Pleſſis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a cuſtom among the primitive chriſtians to adore the croſs, and yet he alledged the reproach which the em-

the euchariſt, which was looked upon by the proteſtant party, to be a maſter-piece, and which I ſent immediately to the biſhop of Evreux, who was at his dioceſe: the difference of religion had never been able to deſtroy that friendſhip and gratitude which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence, which I had ever preſerved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my biſhop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this ſtrain. I was greatly ſurpriſed to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had ſent him, that the errors and falſhoods it contained were ſo numerous, and followed one another ſo cloſe, that the whole book was juſtly cenſurable. "Not "that I would accuſe monſieur Du Pleſſis of inſin-"cerity," added the biſhop of Evreux, with equal moderation in his adverſary's regard as politeneſs in mine, "but I am ſorry for his misfortune in having "given credit to the confuſed collections of com-"pilers, who have greatly deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the poſt of grand maſter of the ordnance, and aſſurances of the pleaſure it would give him "to ſee me," he ſaid, "who com-

peror Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not "very likely," returned the king, "that Julian the apoſtate would "have reproached the chriſtians for adoring the croſs, if they had not "actually done ſo; otherwiſe he would have expoſed himſelf to be "laughed at." It was the king likewiſe who ſaid, that at leaſt an &c. ought to have been put in the paſſage from St. Bernard.

A catholic having obſerved to a calviniſt, that Du Perron had already gained ſeveral paſſages of Du Pleſſis, No matter, anſwered the proteſtant, provided that of Saumur be ſtill left to him. Matthieu, ibid. This fact, which is told in the ſame manner in ſeveral polemical treatiſes, is generally atteſted by all good hiſtorians, and even thoſe who treat the proteſtants moſt favourably. M. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. p. 843, who was himſelf one of the commiſſaries. Matthieu, ibid. Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry IV. tom. II. p. 51, &c. Vol. 8778, de la Bibliot. du Roi. Le Grain, and ſeveral others, who give us a relation of the whole diſpute; ſo conſequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie de Du Pleſſis, liv. ii. p. 269.

"manded

" manded the cannons of France, obey the canons " of the church."

I NEVER had ſo good an opinion of Du Pleſſis as the reſt of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I would not have choſen to have been ſecurity for the exactneſs of thoſe large volumes, which he ſent into the world in ſo quick a ſucceſſion, for that on the euchariſt had been preceded by a treatiſe upon the church. To write well, and upon theſe ſubjects eſpecially, long reflection is neceſſary. This I told the biſhop of Evreux in my anſwer; but at the ſame time I obſerved to him, that I could not believe Du Pleſſis's book was, as he ſaid, a ſeries of errors. I told Du Perron at the ſame time, that this would be the ſubject of a great diſpute between them, for Du Pleſſis would not ſuffer his accuſations to paſs unanſwered; this was all the ſerious part of my letter, the reſt of it was filled with compliment, praiſes, and an invitation to viſit my new dwelling, which do not deſerve to be repeated †.

WHAT I had foreſeen happened. However, I had expected only a private, not a public diſpute. I would have interpoſed the king's authority to have hindered the two champions from proceeding ſo far, but Du Pleſſis was the moſt difficult ‡ to be perſuaded, and perſiſted in his reſolution to meaſure his weapons with thoſe of the biſhop of Evreux. Every one knows how the diſpute was terminated. Du Pleſſis's defence was weak, and ended in his diſgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his preſence, gave a thouſand praiſes to the wit and learning of monſieur d'Evreux. " What do " you think of your pope," ſaid Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Pleſſis was with the pro-

† See thoſe letters in the original, tom. II. part 1. p. 52.

‡ Sir, ſaid Du Pleſſis to M. de Roſny, my book is my own child, which I will defend, and I intreat you would ſuffer me to do ſo: don't you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

teſtants what the pope is amongſt the catholics) "I "think ſire, replied I, "that he is more a pope "than your majeſty imagines; for, at this mo- "ment, he gives the cardinal's hat to monſieur "d'Evreux. If our religion had not a better "foundation than his legs and arms croſſed, I "would quit it this inſtant."

It was upon this occaſion, that his majeſty, in a letter to the duke of Epernon, told him, that the dioceſe of Evreux had vanquiſhed that of Saumur; that this is one of the greateſt advantages, which for a long time had been obtained for the church of God; and that ſuch a proceeding would draw more proteſtants to the true church than a courſe of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no leſs ſingular than the choice Henry made of the duke of Epernon to addreſs it to, made as much noiſe as the diſpute itſelf, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in ſuch hands. Some ſaid that the king wrote it to deſtroy the ſuſpicions of his not being a ſincere catholic, which, notwithſtanding his converſion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jeſuits to mention him diſadvantageouſly in their letters to Rome: others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at firſt perceived, and maintained, that the king had a view in it to perſuade either Spain or the proteſtants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and ſanguinary methods with them would be uſeleſs.

The ſix months that had been given to the duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to ſatisfy his engagement. His majeſty began to think he ſhould obtain nothing but by force; but, beſides the perſuaſions of his courtiers, who all ſeemed to have ſold their voices to the duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obſtacle far more powerful, his fondneſs for his new miſtreſs, to whom he had given the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil.

neuil. He was no longer able to think of a ſeparation, and (it is with ſome confuſion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he ſhould not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him †. She was now with child; and, having the promiſe of marriage in her poſſeſſion, the affair became of great conſequence to Henry. Providence once more interpoſed in his favour. Madam de Verneuil was ſo frightened by the thunder during a ſtorm, that ſhe was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he ſent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his miſtreſs; but, reſtored to himſelf by his own reflections, he continued his route to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

I INTENDED to follow, as ſoon as I had ſettled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper meaſures to ſecure the neceſſary ſupplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the king's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except thoſe which were for the ſupport of the frontier garriſons and the payment of the troops, becauſe all others would be immediately diſcharged at the treaſury, to which I ordered all their money to be carried directly. I likewiſe forbad thoſe that paid rents, to diſcharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accuſtomed, ſuch notes as had been revoked or created without money. I raiſed ſome militia, which I choſe rather to incorpo-

† She came to meet him at St. André de la Coſte. Baſſompierre, who was with Henry, ſays, that the lovers quarrelled at their firſt meeting, but were ſoon reconciled: after which, this prince carried his miſtreſs to Grenoble, where he continued with her ſeven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. I. 86, &c.

rate in the old corps, than to compoſe new regiments of. I applied myſelf more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I ſent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commiſſioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their beſt pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and ſend them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, leſt my orders ſhould not be punctually executed, I went myſelf to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I GAVE the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thouſand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandiſe it was. They were greatly aſtoniſhed when they found their loading was twenty cannon, ſix thouſand balls, and other things belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alledged, that ſuch heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to ſeize their carts and horſes, and they not being willing to loſe the expences they had been already at, reſolved to do what was required of them: and I had the ſatisfaction to ſee all this luggage arrive ſafely in ſixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in leſs than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

IT was always doubted whether the king would ſeriouſly renew the war, till his majeſty was ſeen to take his rout to the Alps. The chancellor Bellievre, who had perſiſted in his endeavours to diſſuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if poſſible, of the reaſons he had againſt it. I did not regard him as one of thoſe perſons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been uſeleſs. His ſincerity

appeared

appeared in the manner in which he ſpoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind ſeemed to me to be agitated; the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work ſo ſolid as that of the peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he expoſed himſelf: the fear of bringing all the duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppoſe whom he had an army ſufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but conſiſting only of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horſe, and (for ſo Bellievre imagined) deſtitute of all neceſſary proviſions. This was the ſum of the chancellor's objections.

I DO not think that, in any paſſage of theſe Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, eſpecially ſince I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf with regard to too great a propenſity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occaſion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I anſwer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can ſuit all caſes; and ſuppoſing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is alſo certain that it is often a neceſſary, and even an indiſpenſable evil, when by that only thoſe claims can be ſupported, which it would be a baſeneſs to renounce; ſince it muſt be likewiſe confeſſed, that generoſity and mildneſs, two qualities abſolutely neceſſary in ſovereigns, yet when employed againſt the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakneſs, and are looked upon as inſtances of bad conduct.

TO this general reply I added the particular reaſons for the preſent war. I ſhewed the chancellor, that he ſuffered himſelf to be unſeaſonably alarmed: the king of Spain was the only formidable ally, who it might be apprehended would join the duke of

Savoy; but it was to be conſidered, that the reigning king of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, ſufficiently employed in reducing his own ſubjects, and wholly guided by a miniſter as little inclined to war as himſelf, by the natural turn of his diſpoſition, and a deſire of keeping in his own hands the money which muſt be conſumed by a war; and laſtly, that he bore no good will to the duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a reſtitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occaſioned by an ill-grounded preſumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France: and this preſuppoſed, the ſucceſs of the war depended upon its being purſued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor, that, with four thouſand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thouſand the next, but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his majeſty was not ſo unprovided as he imagined, at leaſt, that he ſhould not want for two things, which, in the offices I held it depended upon me to furniſh him with, that is money and artillery. Bellievre was ſo far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will ſhew who had the beſt reaſons on his ſide.

THE duke of Savoy ſeeing that, contrary to his expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourſe to his uſual artifices, to prevent, at leaſt, any act of hoſtility before the winter was

* He was encouraged, it is ſaid, by certain idle predictions of aſtrologers, who gave out that, in the month of Auguſt, there would be no king in France: a thing that proved very true, ſays Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

begun.

begun. He ſent deputy after deputy to his majeſty at Lyons; ſometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, ſometimes he eluded them by ſpecious reaſons, and at other times, he propoſed advantageous projects for his majeſty, and continued to impoſe upon this prince ſo completely, that Henry believing he ſhould be under no neceſſity to go farther than Lyons, ſtaid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him againſt the ſubtilties of the duke of Savoy; but, as ſoon as I left him to return to Paris, to haſten, as I have ſaid, the preparations for war, the king was ſo effectually deceived by the duke's pretended ſincerity, that he wrote to me to ſuſpend my cares, for every thing was ſettled in an amicable manner.

In effect, the duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and propoſed that hoſtages ſhould be given on each ſide; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was neceſſarily taken up in naming thoſe hoſtages, and ſending them to each other. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not ſcruple to diſobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition *, and came in perſon to Montargis, from whence I ſent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride poſt myſelf. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only theſe few words, "You have gueſſed truly: the "duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as "ſoon as poſſible, and neglect nothing that may "be neceſſary to make him ſenſible of his perfidy."

I was informed more particularly of all that had paſſed, by a letter from Villeroi. The king had

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, beſtows, in ſeveral places, high encomiums on the conduct of Sully, and in a great meaſure aſcribes to him the honour of that campaign. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 352, 361, 365, &c.

ſent for Roncas, from whom he had received ſo little ſatisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, reſolving to preſs him in ſuch a manner as to leave him no ſubterfuge to have recourſe to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himſelf by his equivocations, which threw the king into ſo great a rage, that he would hear no more, and inſtantly took his rout towards Chamberry; and it was from this place that the abovementioned billet was dated. His majeſty imagined that this city would ſurrender at his approach, and that he ſhould not be at the trouble of inveſting it; but in this he was miſtaken.

THIS interval was employed by the king in ſoliciting his marriage with the princeſs Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleaſing to the pope, was of ſervice to the king, in hindering his holineſs from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majeſty had ſent to Rome on this occaſion, obtained all that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to ſend ſome perſon to Florence, to ſolemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earneſtly ſolicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the duke of Florence.

WHILE this ceremony was performing in Florence †, Henry thought it neceſſary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no leſs aſſiduouſly the whole plan of the campaign: he ordered Leſdiguieres to take an exact view of the caſtle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thouſand diſcharges, it might be taken, he reſolved to attack it. He likewiſe cauſed that of Bourg-en-Breſſe to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Caſtenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that

† See the whole account of it in La Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600.

the

the place might be carried, it was reſolved to endeavour the taking of theſe two towns by petard and in the ſame night: and in proper time beſiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his majeſty committed this enterpriſe, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reſerved that of Bourg to himſelf.

THE king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongſt all his general officers, who was the leaſt likely to give ſucceſs to the enterpriſe. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at leaſt rough drawn or ſketched out by this time. He ſent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was deſigned to ſurpriſe him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is ſingular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the ſame night that it had been reſolved to attack it.

BOUVENS communicated the advice he had received to the garriſon and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themſelves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps-de-guard, and, in a word, took all poſſible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the ſtanding centinel himſelf. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that marſhal Biron, who was himſelf at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterprize impoſſible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road ſo far about, that inſtead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have perſuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which, at ſuch an hour was very improper. But his opinion was ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Louſtrange, Vi-

enne, and particularly by Caſtenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the baſtions ſhould be filled, and likewiſe by Boëſſe †, to whom his majeſty had promiſed the government of it; that Biron, fearing leſt he ſhould incur the imputation of cowardice, and believing that the deſign would miſcarry, was obliged to conſent to it.

The affair turned out quite otherwiſe: the garriſon and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterpriſe was blaſted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfaſt, and to refreſh themſelves with ſleep; leaving the care of guarding their walls to ſome centinels, who being oppreſſed with ſleep, acquitted themſelves very ill of their charge. Caſtenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterſcarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Caſtenet, whom I had inſtructed, anſwered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertize the governor, that ſome troops had appeared at the diſtance of two thouſand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to ſay to monſieur Bouvens from the duke of Savoy; and deſired the ſoldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might be opened. The centinel quitting his poſt to go to the governor's houſe, Caſtenet, without loſs of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of ſhort ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garriſon, into the citadel.

† Peter de Eſcodaca de Boëſſe.

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THE town of Montmelian * was taken in the ſame manner; and Chamberry, by his majeſty's orders, was inveſted; the citizens, full of terror, thought not of defending the town, but fortified themſelves in the caſtle, where at firſt they made a ſhew of reſiſtance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durſt not ſtand. By the order his majeſty cauſed to be obſerved, there was not the leaſt violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their huſbands in this expedition, ſettled at Chamberry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its maſter.

AFTER this, the king ſent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furniſhing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to viſit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint-Catherine, Seiſſel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluſe, and other fortreſſes of Breſſe, particularly the caſtle of Bourg: he ordered me likewiſe to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in heighth and nine in width; upon which I anſwered him, that ſuch gabions were only proper to make an encloſure for ſheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his ſide, in the mean time, went to poſſeſs himſelf of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of theſe places held out againſt the cannon. The taking of Miolens reſtored liberty to a man who had been detained in the priſons there fifteen years; Feugeres brought him to me on account of the ſingularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity,

‡ Conſult likewiſe, on all theſe military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septenn. an. 1600. in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewiſe tom. I. des Mem. de Baſſompierre.

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and the perſon by whom he ſhould be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I LEFT Lyons, to execute the commiſſion his majeſty had given me. I reached * Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeneſs by marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade me from it; repreſenting to me, that I expoſed myſelf to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterpriſe was full of hazard; but it was becauſe that this marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my deſign, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwiſe) ſuch exact informations, that wherever I preſented myſelf I found a battery againſt me. Notwithſtanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finiſhed all my obſervations.

BIRON, who probably had expected that I ſhould pay dear for my curioſity, finding that I had eſcaped, laid other ſnares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, conſiſting of two hundred men, had arrived at a caſtle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who then had none of that obliging ſolicitude for my ſafety which he had diſcovered before, and treated the information as a jeſt; which raiſed my ſuſpicions. I aſked him for an eſcort of ſoldiers; which he excuſed himſelf from granting, telling me, that he would commit this care to his own guards: but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars; which they did, notwithſtanding my intreaties to the contrary, as ſoon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unladed. The deſign of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be loaded again, and travelled

* In the Upper Breſſe.

four

four leagues farther, nor ſtopped till I came to Vimy, where I thought myſelf in ſafety. My ſuſpicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars, the two hundred men came and ſtormed the houſe I had been at, and ſeemed very much concerned that they had miſſed their blow.

A courier from his majeſty waited for me at Lyons: his buſineſs was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of thoſe little towns which the king had attacked that made any reſiſtance, and which ſurrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to viſit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he ſhould not accompliſh ſo eaſily his deſigns upon Charbonnieres and the caſtle of Montmelian; and ſeemed to make ſome difficulty about undertaking thoſe ſieges at the approach of winter. I aſſured his majeſty, that inſtead of five months (for ſo long he imagined the ſiege of Montmelian would laſt) it might be ended in ſo many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I ſaid on this head, and after I had left him ſaid to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my preſumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this caſtle, which had apparently eſcaped the obſervation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly.

The next day, the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army, in his abſence, to me. During this time, I no longer employed myſelf in obſerving Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the out-works, and of the diſpoſition of thoſe batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had paſſed his

his time in deliberation with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbad me abſolutely to begin in his abſence. I inſiſted again upon the reaſonableneſs of undertaking it; and again found the ſame oppoſition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the duke of Savoy, that the count of Soiſſons, the duke D'Epernon, La-Guiche, and many others, appeared ſo unreaſonable: amongſt all the counſellors, only meſſieurs de Leſdiguieres and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had juſt finiſhed upon the table, and went out, ſaying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian ſhould be attacked, I would go and put myſelf in readineſs to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnieres, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

Accordingly, I laid ſiege to Charbonnieres, where I ſuffered incredible fatigues; the firſt difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one ſide by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly ſteep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, becauſe they were every moment obliged to unharneſs the cannon, one of the wheels almoſt always running over the ſide of the precipice. We were confident at leaſt of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell ſuch violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days which I had thought ſufficient for taking the place, had been almoſt wholly conſumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuſe in the council againſt the malicious remark which the count of Soiſſons and others did not fail to make upon the promiſe I had given. The king, who that moment looking at me attentively, perceiving that my

my face was very red, and all overſpread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breaſt, crying, "Ah! my "friend, you are very ill." He ſent immediately for Du-Laurens †, who, after examining thoſe pimples, ſaid, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myſelf they would be removed. I had, indeed, over-heated myſelf with labour; and, when in a violent ſweat, had been wet quite through my clothes with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as ſoon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he ſent Thermes the next day to know how I was; and was greatly ſurpriſed to hear that his meſſenger had found me on horſeback, viſiting my batteries.

BEFORE I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little town at the foot of the fort. It ſeemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general conſpiracy againſt me; for as often as I appeared in view, a volley was diſcharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnieres is ſituated, appearing inacceſſible on all ſides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what ſeemed on the outſide a natural rock, might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repreſſed the joy this diſcovery gave me, till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkneſs of the night, and was tranſported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I deſired, and that this baſtion was ſuch as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in

† André Du-Laurens, the king's phyſician.

doubt

doubt on what ſide I ſhould batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out ſome place proper for erecting theſe batteries; for Charbonnieres is, indeed, ſurrounded with mountains that command the town, but ſo ſteep that a man can hardly aſcend them on foot. I began again to creep along theſe mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all ſeemed wholly inacceſſible to the cannon, except one, upon the declivity of which, I ſaw a road where it was not impoſſible but ſome pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main ſtrength. Unfortunately the acceſs to this road was by another which paſſed ſo near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with ſtones.

THIS was another obſtacle, which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I choſe out two hundred French, and as many Swiſs, to each of whom I promiſed a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up ſix cannon, which I gave them, and mount them on an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly, to make as little noiſe as poſſible; and, to prevent the beſieged from obſerving it, cauſed horſes and carmen to advance in the oppoſite roads, whoſe cries and the ſmacking of their whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that ſide, but with no effect; for theſe carts were covered, in their march, by trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon, eſcaped the notice of the beſieged, who were deafened with the noiſe of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée ‡, lieutenant of the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained ſo violently, that La Vallée and the reſt of the officers left their poſt to go to ſupper, and the ſoldiers their cannon,

‡ Michael de la Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

when

when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a ſevere reprimand, threatening them that they ſhould have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that inſtant to their taſk, which they reſumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I ſaw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving ſome check: their delay at length occaſioned their being diſcovered, and ſix were killed and eight wounded.

I GOT back to my quarters while it was yet dark, ſoaked through with the rain, and ſo diſguiſed with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my ſix pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I ſlept an hour, and breakfaſted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himſelf upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he ſaid, ought to have covered him with confuſion: but he was the moſt undaunted lyar I ever knew, "What! you "have been there then," ſaid he, without the leaſt diſcompoſure. "Well, I ſincerely confeſs I am a "fool." "You are ſo, indeed," replied I, "and "ſomething worſe; but avoid ſuch a behaviour for "the future, and repair your fault." It was not doubted but the beſieged would endeavour to make themſelves amends for their being ſurprized; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my mens labour, without any aſſiſtance from the horſes, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made proviſion of gabions, planks, and every thing that was neceſſary to make platforms there.

BUT, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this ſtubborn ground was ſtony,

ſtony, and could not be uſed for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers for want of this uſual defence, ſeeing themſelves expoſed to the whole fire of the place, came, in great conſternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they ſhould begin directly the paliſade, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick, to deprive the enemies, at leaſt of the ſight of the cannon, which otherwiſe they would be able to diſmount; and this was performed immediately, theſe mountains being almoſt covered with wood. To ſupply the reſt, I ordered the carpenters, and pioneers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, ſome round to fill up the gabions, others ſquare, to make a ſecure lodgment for the ſix pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their laſt ſituation from the enemy, to which the branches of the paliſade greatly contributed, I contrived, that there ſhould be on each ſide ſeveral openings filled with baſkets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the paliſade the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to diſmount the battery of the fort, and throw down the paliſade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his majeſty came to viſit it, and embracing me, aſſured me of the ſatisfaction it gave him. He ſaw no obſtacle that ſhould hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I repreſented to him, that it was ſtill neceſſary to delude the beſieged till night: this prince ſubmitted to my opinion; but the count of Soiſſons, d'Epernon, La Guiche, and Villeroi, who attended him, making obſervations that his cannon was pointed againſt a rock,

rock, on which it would be uſeleſs to loſe more time, Henry came to me and ſaid, that he would have them fire, that inſtant, ſome vollies upon the oppoſite ravelin: again I conteſted this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneaſineſs to ſee a work, that had coſt me ſo much labour, likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My reſiſtance put Henry into a paſſion; and he again, and in a very abſolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the maſter. "Yes, ſire," replied I immediately, "you are the maſter, and ſhall be "obeyed, though at the expence of ruining every "thing." I cauſed the paliſade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they ſhould fire; but I would not be a witneſs of it, and withdrew in great diſcontent. As the guns were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual diſcharges, the king ſent La Gueſle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his majeſty would excuſe me; for it being now ſunſet, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His majeſty ordered the firing to ceaſe, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midſt of my batteries, which I cauſed to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithſtanding the rain that fell in great abundance. The beſieged, on their ſide, laboured as hard, and were not without ſome apprehenſions that they ſhould find the place, to which they gave the moſt attention, defective: I judged ſo by the fires and candles which I ſaw lighted up in the fort, and contented myſelf with interrupting their ſecurity, by firing ſome diſcharges from time to time.

At the break of day, there aroſe ſo thick a fog, that, at ſix o'clock, the fort could not be ſeen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneaſineſs, becauſe all my batteries were ready; and I had boaſted overnight,

night, that I would take Charbonnieres the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occaſioned by the cannon, might poſſibly diſperſe the fog, and I cauſed ſome vollies to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jeſtingly propoſed, ſucceeded almoſt beyond my hopes. No ſooner had the reſt of the artillery anſwered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly diſappeared. The beſieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon, over-againſt my ſix, which the imprudence committed the day before had diſcovered to them, and which, at that inſtant, they endeavoured to diſmount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and cauſed a piece to be pointed directly oppoſite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons uſeleſs, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their diſcharge had killed on our ſide, ſix gunners, and two pioneers, and at length made our pieces uſeleſs, till they were diſlodged from thence.

The king ran thither upon the noiſe, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place where I had contrived in ſuch a manner, that he might ſee every thing that paſſed without danger. This was an incloſure made with the largeſt trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I ſhewed his majeſty the bodies of thoſe that had been juſt killed, and made him ſenſible, that this was the conſequence of the bad counſel that was followed the day before. I did not ſay this without deſign, perceiving that the ſame perſons continued ſtill to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majeſty againſt me. I did not ſuffer myſelf to be at all diſcompoſed with their obſervations, and told them haughtily that, not having yet ate any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were deſirous of playing the grand maſter of the ordnance;

ordnance; but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleaſed, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand maſter, conſiſted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king ſent me a large trout pye, which was ſent him from Geneva. My dinner was ſoon over, and I went again to intreat his majeſty that he would ſuffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promiſes that I would make him maſter of Charbonnieres that day. The king replied that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La Gueſle ſaid, that, if he was in the place, he ſhould know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then, ſaid I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me paſs for a boaſter.

The king then withdrew into his encloſure, and delivered me from the importunate preſence of his courtiers for three hours, which he paſſed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in ſurveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I ſaw him come back again with the count of Soiſſons, to whom he ſaid loud enough for me to hear, "This "place will not be taken to-day." The count anſwered, with great complaiſance, That his majeſty, who had more knowledge of war than any perſon whatſoever, ought to make uſe of his authority to force me to obey, inſtead of waſting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that inſtant. The king came juſt at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his majeſty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was reſolved the garriſon ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. The lieutenant returned with a perſonated boldneſs, ſaying that there were

ſtill

ſtill two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Leſdigueres and Villeroi with me, who perſuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the beſieged. Leſdigueres even carried me towards the fort, to ſhew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I ſtopped him when we came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be raſhneſs to expoſe himſelf to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces diſtant, which ſerved me as a ſhelter, while theſe gentlemen very unſeaſonably rallied me for my caution; but they ſoon changed their tone when a dreadful fire obliged them to follow me.

The lieutenant of the fort returned a ſecond time, but with propoſals little different from the former. I ſent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi ſaid, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not diſpenſe with himſelf from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, ſending the beſieged my laſt reſolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the ſecond diſcharge ſet fire to the powder of the beſieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and ſix or ſeven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any aſſiſtance to the breach, becauſe the cannon ſweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire deſtroyed ſome of their beſt ſoldiers. This made them reſolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I ſaw their drummer carried up in the air at the heighth of twelve feet, by a cannon ball which entered the ground where he ſtood, but did him no other hurt. The beſieged then held up a pike, with a flag faſtened to the top, crying out that they ſurrendered, and implored us to ceaſe firing. Yet the artillery continued to play, till

till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our ſoldiers, I was afraid ſome French would be killed amongſt them. I then mounted my horſe and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by aſſault; but that heart muſt be wholly impenetrable to compaſſion, that could not be ſoftened by a ſight ſo truly pitiable as now preſented itſelf: it was the women, the wounded, and thoſe that were ſcorched by the fire, who came and threw themſelves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the ſex ſo lovely as in this city, nor ſo finiſhed a beauty as one woman in particular who came to implore my mercy: inſtead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the ſame conditions I had offered at firſt, and cauſed the garriſon to be conducted to a place of ſecurity which I had appointed for them.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ſucceſs with Charbonnieres, I ſtill found great oppoſition in the council to my propoſal of attacking the caſtle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care "what you do," ſaid his majeſty to me, prejudiced by the great number that diſapproved of the attempt; "for if we are obliged to raiſe the ſiege, every one "will exclaim againſt you, and I poſſibly ſhall be "amongſt the firſt." They were not ſenſible at that time what a ſtrong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a ſiege: what had happened at Charbonnieres had ſo confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not ſcruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promiſed in a former council: I ſtipulated only for one condition, which his majeſty could not deny me, becauſe he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he ſhould not be preſent at the ſiege. I foreſaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortreſs, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I ſhould

make the attempt, I laid ſiege to the caſtle of Montmelian.

THIS caſtle is ſituated on a rock almoſt as hard as that of Charbonnieres, and ſo high that it commands the whole country about it; ſteep and inacceſſible on all ſides except that next the city, where the aſcent is leſs difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itſelf, and which muſt have been done with infinite labour with the point of a ſharp chiſſel; beſides which, there were three baſtions, that could neither be ſapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itſelf, almoſt impenetrable, and above a toiſe and a half deep. The country is ſtrewed with ſeveral mountains, but ſome are ſo diſtant, that they appear to be abſolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are neareſt are ſo ſteep and pointed at the top, and ſo rugged and bare, that far from being poſſible to carry up and make uſe of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The caſtle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thouſand vollies at leaſt, a proportionable garriſon, and ammunition in great abundance.

THE firſt thought that occurred to my mind, and ſupported it againſt obſtacles in appearance unſurmountable, was, that however ſolid and continued the rock ſeemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the baſtions were raiſed, it was not poſſible that it ſhould be all of equal hardneſs; and if one part of it only was ever ſo little weaker than the reſt, the artillery I had would ſecure me the means of opening a paſſage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the baſtion called Mauvoiſin; for otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have approached near enough to diſcern whether this whole maſs was an entire rock, cut with a chiſſel; but the rock which we

we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches.

I was obliged to have recourſe to artifice; and one very dark night cauſed a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this baſtion, and ſo low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon: it was ſhot through and through with the ſmall arms as ſoon as the day diſcovered it to the beſieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I ſuffered the enemy to diſcharge their rage for ſome days upon this hut, till of themſelves they ſhould ceaſe to fire; which at length they did, ſuppoſing it had been built there to make them ſpend their powder in vain. When I found the beſieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occaſion, I could entirely cover my body againſt the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole baſtion; I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into ſo deep. Without doubt the beſieged were then making ſome repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewiſe that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not a ſolid rock that formed either; and that this flank preſented itſelf naked and eaſy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now ſatisfied, and had no other care but how to get out ſafely, which, in broad day, could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces diſtant from the parapet, which was lined with ſoldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could ſhelter myſelf. I ſeized that moment when the guards being relieved, the ſoldiers began to be careleſs, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as faſt as I was able; four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the ſame time; their muſquet-ſhot whiſtled about my ears and co-

vered me with gravel and flint ſtones, but did not wound me; before the other ſoldiers were ready, I had gained the neareſt lodgment.

I HAD at firſt reſolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the ſide of the Iſere, where they might be carried up more eaſily by the help of ſteps cut by the hands of men; but having obſerved, on the oppoſite ſide of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be ſeen the road that led to the wells of the caſtle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard-houſe; I preferred this laſt, and conſidered upon the means to carry up ſix pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly ſteep on all ſides but one, and even this ſide of the aſcent was a league about: but this was not the greateſt difficulty; to plant them there we muſt level rocks of ſuch hardneſs, that moſt of the officers thought the enterprize ridiculous.

THE enemies were not of the ſame opinion: as ſoon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed ſix pieces of cannon there likewiſe, and made a continual fire: the firſt volley was ſhot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my ſtaff of command in my hand, dreſſed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I obſerved that this ſhot had paſſed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I ſaid to Leſine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both; and that, without doubt, the beſieged having perceived me, would take an exact aim. I retired two or three ſteps behind a ſhelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand, fixed in the place where I had ſtood myſelf; one ball threw down the pike, the other killed three pioneers

pioneers and two gunners, and broke ſome glaſſes and bottles that had been brought for a refreſhment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majeſty, as an inſtance of raſhneſs in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my perſon being ſtill more neceſſary to him for the buſineſs of the ſtate than war, he deſired that I would not act like a mere ſoldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raiſe; and that he would recal me, if I diſobeyed this command.

HENRY could not reſiſt the deſire he had to ſee the diſpoſition of this ſiege, and wrote to me a ſecond time, deſiring I would diſpenſe with the promiſe he had given me to the contrary, aſſuring me, that he would go to thoſe places only that I ſhould appoint, and with no other attendants than the count of Soiſſons, D'Epernon, Belſegarde, and me. I intreated him at leaſt to diſguiſe himſelf in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to ſhun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field ſtrewed over with flint ſtones, oppoſite to which the beſieged kept a party of thirty or forty ſoldiers continually, armed with muſquets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, becauſe they knew that our men paſſed every moment through this field, to go to the new battery raiſed upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this requeſt; but when he was upon the ſpot, he could not reſolve to uſe this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some muſket-ſhot that we were expoſed to at firſt made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worſe when we entered the field; there was at once ſo terrible a diſcharge of the heavy cannon and ſmall-ſhot, that we ſaw ourſelves in a moment all covered with earth, and our ſkin ſcratched with a ſhower of thoſe little flint-ſtones. Henry making the ſign of the croſs, "It is now, "ſaid I, that I acknowledge you to be a good ca-

"tholic." "Let us go, ſaid he, this is a bad place." We doubled our pace, eſteeming it a ſingular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at leaſt lamed. No one thought of returning the ſame way, but took the road from the mountains, where I cauſed horſes to be brought for the company.

The king was a little aſhamed of his unneceſſary raſhneſs, which was the cauſe, that ſome days afterwards, when I ſent him notice that all my batteries were finiſhed, his majeſty, who was then returned to the Tarantaiſe, having an inclination to ſee them, ordered me to make a truce for ſome hours with the governor. The king's curioſity being ſatisfied, I was ſeized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand maſter exerciſing his office in the royal preſence; but as this could not be done without a diſcharge of the artillery, which would have been conſidered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the beſieged to break it I ordered ſome commiſſaries to ſend certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occaſion for there. The enemy, who had not loſt any part of their fierceneſs, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-ſhot. I had given my men orders, in caſe this happened, to hold themſelves in readineſs to anſwer them immediately by a general diſcharge. This was the firſt, and afforded matter for ſerious reflection to the beſieged, when they ſaw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the firſt to demand a continuation of the truce; eſpecially when a ſecond diſcharge ſucceeded ſo rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately ſought out ways to procure an honourable compoſition.

Two

Two women were by chance the firſt movers * of this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the caſtle, amuſed herſelf with making little glaſs toys and pieces of chair-work. My wife being then in the town, ſhe ſent her a pair of ear-rings and two chains of exquiſite workmanſhip. Madam de Roſny, in return, ſent her wine and veniſon, and deſired to know if it was not poſſible for them to ſee each other: they obtained permiſſion for it, and paſſed three afternoons together with ſuch familiarity, that at length they began to conſider how Montmelian might be ſurrendered with honour. Each acquainted her huſband with the ſubject of their converſations, and we were ſo far from oppoſing them, that they were authoriſed to go on, but concealed from one another that they acted by permiſſion. Madam de Brandis had an indiſpoſition that made the country air neceſſary for her. Her huſband thought he could procure this favour through the interpoſition of my wife; and ſhe made ſo reaſonable a repreſentation to him of the condition to which he would be ſoon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he conſented to treat with me, and ſent me a deputation for that purpoſe. I diſpatched notice of it to the king, who propoſed it to his council; and it was there reſolved, that a month ſhould be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place ſhould be ſurrendered. I was very ſure that it could not hold out ſo long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful ſincerity of an enemy to grant ſuch conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe a reſolution in which envy had as great a ſhare as fear.

The king did not begin to repent of having followed the counſels of marechal Biron and d'Epernon rather than mine, till, a little while before the ex-

* The hiſtorian who has given us the life of the duke d'Epernon, aſcribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

piration of the time granted to the beſieged, a report was ſpread, that an army of twenty-five thouſand men was coming over the Alps to their aſſiſtance. The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was ſenſible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him ſuch a fortreſs as Montmelian. He aſked me if by ſome means or other there was not a poſſibility of putting him in poſſeſſion of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheleſs accompliſhed, and in this manner.

Ever ſince the ſuſpenſion of arms, the count of Brandis ſuffered all ſtrangers to enter his caſtle who brought proviſions and neceſſaries which the wounded, and even madam de Brandis herſelf, had occaſion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the croud was often ſo great that ſome blows paſſed between them; for which the governor could not chaſtiſe them, becauſe there were a great many Frenchmen amongſt them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I ſought for. I placed a guard of fifty choſen men at the gate of the caſtle, commanded by officers who, being informed of my deſign, accuſtomed the guards of the caſtle to ſee them enter it, at firſt three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garriſon not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themſelves almoſt maſters of the caſtle itſelf, without giving them any aſſiſtance; but on the contrary, inſtead of leſſening the diſorder, theſe French did all they could to increaſe it.

Brandis imputed all to the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all thoſe ſtrangers, whom I ſuppoſed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done ſo, but for the great number of my ſoldiers that were amongſt them; and that, rather than

than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he choſe to confide to me the care of putting an end to the diſorder. I ſeemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I moſt ardently wiſhed) only to reſtore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could eaſily accompliſh it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he conſented to it, and I cauſed fifty ſoldiers to enter; but theſe were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had ſlipt in with them; I came thither myſelf likewiſe, with all my train: and from that time our party was ſo ſtrong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our diſpoſal.

BRANDIS then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwiſe than by ſhewing himſelf ſtill more generous. He came to me and told me, that he conſented I ſhould take poſſeſſion of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the ſecurity of my word. I reſolved not to abuſe his confidence, and faithfully obſerved all the articles. I ſupped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commiſſion from the king, I went to tell him that without any fears from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be falſe.

THE garriſon of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapſed, and yielded the place to his majeſty, who commanded me to ſettle Crequy there with his company. The garriſon was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have perſuaded the king to have diſmantled this place, as it muſt undoubtedly be reſtored to the duke of Savoy in caſe of a peace; and to have done the ſame by all the other conquered fortreſſes: but the advice of the courtiers, who all

ſeemed to be in the pay of thé duke, ſaved Montmelian from a treatment that good policy required.

THE myſtery of this conduct with regard to Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the diſcovery of ſome letters of mareehal Biron in cyphers: he told the duke of Savoy, to whom they were addreſſed, that he had obtained a month for the garriſon of Montmelian, to give him time to raiſe the ſiege: that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unleſs he made an effort to ſave this place, which could hold out three months longer; and aſſured him, that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the caſtle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in ſuccouring it had ſilenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared againſt the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do ſo with ſafety. Notwithſtanding the caution he obſerved in not writing their names, they were all ſo well deſcribed, that it was not difficult to know them. The ſilence I keep with regard to theſe names is only in favour of ſome whom the public perhaps has not ſuſpected.

MONTMELIAN was not yet ſurrendered, when it was reported in the French army that cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his majeſty concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot, and 500 troopers, all ſpruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the grand maſter of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian; the truce affording me an opportunity to make uſe of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occaſion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the ſignal

was

was given by a white flag raiſed on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the ſmall-ſhot, and was anſwered by that of the caſtle, in ſuch a manner, that both having time to load again, this double diſcharge of an hundred and ſeventy cannons, performed with the utmoſt regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidſt the mountains, had the nobleſt effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than ſoothed, by an honour ſo magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had ſeveral times recourſe to the ſign of the croſs.

I CARRIED the cardinal to dinner at Notre-Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the buſineſs he mentioned to me; one was, that he ſhould give no credit to any of thoſe perſons who would make a boaſt to him of their intereſt with his majeſty; the other, that if they promiſed him to get all the places taken from the duke of Savoy to be reſtored without being demoliſhed, he ſhould believe them ſtill leſs, for he might be aſſured this would never happen. After this caution, I reſigned him freely to thoſe ſent by his majeſty to fetch him, and continued my hoſtilities, by beſieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint-Catherine.

THE latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is ſituated on a riſing ground, in an open field, of which it ſeems to be the centre, marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, aſked me to go that inſtant, on horſeback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gaily dreſſed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the marechal was mounted on a white horſe, and wore a large plume of feathers of the ſame colour. "No, "no," ſaid he, "you need not be under any ap-

" prehenſion: morbieu! they will not dare to fire " upon us." " Let us go then," replied I, " if you " will, for if it rains upon me, it will ſprinkle upon " you." Accordingly, we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and obſerved it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of ſmall ſhot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horſe; which ſurpriſed me greatly. " Cer- " tainly, ſir," ſaid I to the marechal, " there is no " one within, or they are aſleep, or afraid of us." The king could with difficulty believe this, becauſe being there himſelf the day before, with ſix horſe only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with ſo great a noiſe of the artillery, that the king ſent Monteſpan thither, believing it was a ſally. " Whom are theſe fellows " aiming at?" ſaid Monteſpan to me, finding no- body in ſight. " At me, I believe," replied I, " but " I have ſeen all that I wanted to ſee." However, I gueſſed ſoon after the reaſon of that reſpect which they ſhewed marechal Biron. I perceived that the flanks of the baſtions of Saint-Catherine were ſo bad, that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I aſſured his ma- jeſty, that as ſoon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would ſurrender. In effect, the beſieged, who were likewiſe in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not ſuccoured in ſix days.

AFTER I had opened the trench, I deſired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horſe, and came very ſeaſonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the preſence of a great number of catholics within their walls occaſioned. Meſſieurs de Guiſe, d'Elbeuf, d'Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their ſeveral atten- dants.

dants. I aſſured them, that his majeſty had their intereſt at heart, and that I would not leave them while thoſe gentlemen continued amongſt them: but the remembrance of the late perſecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be ſatisfied till I had removed the occaſion of their fears; which I did that evening by ſpeaking to thoſe gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their miniſter, at their head, to compliment his majeſty, and to endeavour to obtain a requeſt that they kept very ſecret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were moſt ardently deſirous of. Beza delivered himſelf like a man of ſenſe, and one who knew how to praiſe with delicacy; congratulating the proteſtants upon the happineſs which the reign of ſo good a prince promiſed them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to beſtow upon it any of his conqueſts which ſhould be moſt convenient for it; and preventing their requeſt, told them, in a low voice, that they ſhould have the pleaſure to be maſters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my preſence (for he held me by the hand at the ſame time) that no intreaties whatever ſhould hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleaſed.

His majeſty, at cardinal Aldobrandin's requeſt, conſented that the conferences on the ſubject of a peace ſhould be held at Lyons, and appointed the cardinal Du-Perron, the conſtable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen * arrived in that city. As ſoon as the king was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and ſet

* This princeſs left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an eſcorte of ſeventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence ſhe came by the way of Marſeilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived poſt on the 9th of November. As ſoon as he alighted (I take the following account from the moſt authentic

out in very rainy weather, riding poſt, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with rain, and almoſt periſhed with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majeſty, that he might have the pleaſure of ſurprizing the queen, would not ſuffer himſelf to be named. They had not yet ſeen each other. The marriage-ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the king at ſupper, who afterwards diſmiſſed us to refreſh ourſelves likewiſe; and he retired to the queen's apartment.

His majeſty's arrival only increaſed the warmth with which they conteſted the articles of the peace: the plenipotentiaries were almoſt all in the duke of Savoy's intereſt, and glad of an opportunity to make

authentic memoirs of thoſe times) the queen happened to be at ſupper; and having a deſire to ſee her at table without being diſcovered, he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crouded; but he was known the moment he appeared by thoſe neareſt the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his majeſty went away directly, without going farther. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but ſtill gave no other ſigns than by putting the plates away as often as ſhe was ſerved with any thing, and ate ſo little, that ſhe ſeemed to have ſat down rather for form's ſake than to ſup. After the table was removed, ſhe returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber-door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked ſo hard, that the queen thought it muſt be the king: upon this ſhe ſtept forward at the very inſtant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majeſty, at whoſe feet ſhe immediately threw herſelf. The king raiſed her up, embraced her with great tenderneſs, and all that was polite, paſſionate, and reſpectful, paſſed on both ſides. After the firſt compliments were over, the king took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to ſupper, but ate very ſparingly. In the mean time, he bid madam de Nemours tell the queen, that he had not provided himſelf with a bed, expecting ſhe would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nemours carrying this meſſage to the queen, ſhe returned for anſwer, That ſhe had come thither only to obey his majeſty as the humbleſt of his ſervants. Upon this, the king undreſſed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600, where alſo may be ſeen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.

their

their court to the legate; which was the cauſe that Henry thought it neceſſary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and ſeverely blamed the commiſſioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villeroi had promiſed the legate, that none of the fortreſſes which had been taken ſhould be demoliſhed, but eſpecially Saint-Catherine, for which the legate particularly ſolicited, as being the beſt, and even the only bulwark the duke of Savoy had againſt the republic of Geneva. Henry made them ſenſible, that their precipitation in ſubſcribing to an article of this importance, without conſulting him, had given him ſome ſuſpicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then ſending for me, he told me, that the ſhorteſt way to prevent the ſolicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five baſtions of the fort, and to ſend word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiouſly, nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials ſo carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place; and at firſt the report ran, that it was deſtroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expreſſed great reſentment at it, and did not ſcruple to confeſs, in the heat of his paſſion, that I was the only perſon who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not ſufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commiſſioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was intirely broke off; and when it was afterwards reſumed, it was with ſo much animoſity on his eminency's part, that he rejected all the propoſitions that were made

made him. Theſe propoſitions were, That the duke of Savoy ſhould yield to the king the courſe of the river Rhone and its borders: That he ſhould not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards paſſage: That he ſhould leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages ſpecified likewiſe: That Béche-Dauphin * ſhould be demoliſhed, Chateau-Dauphin reſtored: and laſtly, that the duke ſhould pay an hundred and fifty thouſand crowns for the expences of the war.

THE king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obſtinacy of the legate, reſolved to carry on the war more vigorouſly than before, and communicated his deſign to me, which was, to go in ſearch of the duke of Savoy at the head of his army; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obſtacles to this double project, beſides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterpriſe on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the ſeaſon being now ſo far advanced: the difference between this caſtle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for thoſe that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten ſuch places as Bourg, becauſe that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery ſufficient to batter the out-works; but for an army ſixty cannon ſtrong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg; becauſe this laſt being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically, and by ſlow degrees. Had the counſel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the ſurrender of Montmelian been followed, it would have been now in the king's poſſeſſion.

WITH regard to this prince, his perplexity was occaſioned by his knowing in what manner the

* Frontiers of Dauphiné.

greateſt

greateſt part of his general officers conſpired with Spain and the duke of Savoy againſt him: he had great reaſon to be apprehenſive of engaging himſelf in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Leſdiguieres was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an inſtance of his fidelity, in ſending notice by Calignon, that the duke of Bouillon made uſe of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correſpondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himſelf of his commiſſion, Ondevous would not have had time to eſcape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the ſchemes of the ſeditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Leſdiguieres. I adviſed the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him ſtill cloſer to his ſervice, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the reſt, it was eaſy to prevent the conſequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a diſtance from the body of the army.

But the affair that appeared moſt preſſing to us both being to procure a ſupply of money, it was reſolved that I ſhould ſet out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to paſs ſix entire weeks there, I employed theſe four days in making all the neceſſary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the ſoldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the king's houſhold. The very next day I ſent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I propoſed, as ſoon as I arrived, to ſend them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, becauſe my meaſures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

When I went to take leave of the king, he adviſed me to viſit the legate alſo before I ſet out, he having always expreſſed great eſteem for me. I went to viſit him booted, my poſt-horſes waiting for me on the other ſide of the river, oppoſite to his lodgings. He aſked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy, replied I, and I ſhall go with "good company to kiſs the pope's foot." "How! "to Italy:" ſaid he in great amazement: "no, "that muſt not be, ſir; I beg you will aſſiſt me to "renew this peace." I ſeemed to conſent, in reſpect only to his mediation, the king having laid aſide all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already propoſed, and afterwards aſked him if he would give credit to what I was going to ſay to him? Having aſſured me he would, I told him, that he might be abſolutely certain, that of theſe articles, his majeſty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; becauſe I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all theſe reſpects. He deſired to know my reaſons: which I excuſed myſelf from telling him, on account of the ſhort time I had to ſtay. After walking thoughtfully ſeveral times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he aſked me, if, with the ſame proteſtations of ſincerity, I would aſſure him, that, provided he agreed to all theſe points, there ſhould be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promiſe this. Upon which, he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had ſaid. Henry was glad to ſee me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his majeſty. And we concluded that * inſtant a

* M. De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See alſo the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775, &c.

treaty

treaty which had languiſhed ſo long a time; the conditions of which were as follow:

THE duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquiſate of Saluces, which the king of France gave up, was to make a ceſſion to his majeſty of the fortreſſes of Cental, Monts, and Roqueſparviere, all Breſſe entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both ſides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and ſome paſſages neceſſary for his highneſs to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this ceſſion to acquire a right to raiſe any tribute from theſe places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permiſſion, and on condition that for this privilege of paſſing the bridge of Grezin the duke ſhould pay France one hundred thouſand crowns: That he ſhould likewiſe reſign to his majeſty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwic of Getx, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné on this ſide the Alps: that he ſhould likewiſe renounce the property of Aus, Chouſy, Vally, Pont d'Atley, Seiſſel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin ſhould be razed: That the king ſhould on his ſide reſtore all the other forts he had taken which are not ſpecified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals and priſoners of war that had fled on either ſide, church benefices, exchange of eſtates between private perſons, &c. It was articled for the duke of Nemours, part of whoſe eſtate lay in this country, that he ſhould not be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it, neither for the part which he held of the king, nor for that which he held of his highneſs. The other clauſes common to all treaties I ſhall not mention.

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty was ſigned by me for the king, by the legate for the pope, and the duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the

the count of Fuentes, put off ſo long the entire concluſion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it neceſſary not to lay down his arms: he took poſt to Paris †, where he waited for the duke's determinations.

In caſe there ſhould be a neceſſity for his returning into Savoy, he had certain meaſures to take for the affairs within this kingdom, and in Paris eſpecially, at a time when every place was filled with malecontents. He left the conſtable and Leſdiguieres, till his return, with ſome good troops upon that frontier; and Villeroi and two or three other commiſſioners at Lyons, to conclude the buſineſs of the peace.

But his majeſty found no occaſion to return into theſe provinces. The duke of Savoy, after having long amuſed himſelf with expectations from the diſaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already loſt by his obſtinacy, he thought himſelf very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the laſt formalities were added, and the peace was publiſhed at Paris and Turin with the uſual ceremonies: however, the articles were not executed without many difficulties being raiſed by the duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroi at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great intereſt in the affair, even adviſed the duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the

† "He departed, ſays Baſſompierre, one night poſt from Lyons, "in order to return to Paris; and embarking at Rouanne he landed "at Briare; from whence he came to lye at Fontainebleau; and "next day dined at Villeneuve; and croſſing the Seine below the "Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis.) "We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.--- "At length the queen arrived at Nemours; and the king, having "rode poſt with ſixty freſh horſes, came and carried her to Fontainebleau, where after ſtaying five or ſix days, ſhe arrived at Paris, and "was accommodated with apartments at the houſe of Gondy." Mem. de Baſſompierre, tom. I. p. 89, 90.

treaty.

treaty. On all theſe occaſions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He granted all the delays which the duke of Savoy, by count Octavio Taſſone, engaged the legate to demand; which was contrary to Villeroi's advice: but his majeſty, having in reality obtained all that he could demand, thought he ought not to obſerve too rigorouſly the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for ſuch a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the king as any war ended in a ſingle campaign could poſſibly do. His majeſty declared, that Breſſe ſhould not be comprehended in the diſtrict of Lyons, but it ſhould be re-united to Burgundy, under the juriſdiction of the court of aides at Paris.

THE queen did not ſet out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a baſtard of the family of Medicis, Virgilius Urſinus her couſin, who being brought up while young with her, had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both ſexes were in her train; amongſt others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigaï, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry ‡, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the arſenal to dine with me; the queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleaſed with the

‡ It does not appear that this princeſs was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, ſays the Chronologie Septennaire, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addreſſed the king for that purpoſe; but his majeſty choſe rather that the expence of the entry ſhould be laid out on other things that were more neceſſary. It afterwards adds: Upon her arrival at the poſtern-gate of the ſuburb St. Marcel, the marquis de Roſny cauſed all the cannon of the arſenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the ſuburb S. Germain, at Gondy's houſe, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. Ibid.

wine

wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was neceſſary. I had ſome excellent white wine that was as clear as rock water: I ordered ſome decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies aſked for water to temper the burgundy, they were preſented with this liquor. The king ſuſpected by their gaiety that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleaſure, on account of the king's marriage.

In Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence, prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May againſt the arch-duke Albert, in which the † admiral of Caſtile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken priſoner. He afterwards laid ſiege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raiſe it. All I ſhall ſay of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general here by his imperial majeſty. I ſuppreſs a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the ſecular ‡ jubilee at Rome, and ſhall conclude the Memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much ſerious reflection upon duels: Breauté having * killed his adverſary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards aſſaſſinated himſelf.

† This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards loſt 5000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheleſs obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Nieuport, and retire to Holland. The greateſt part of theſe foreign tranſactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our Memoirs; and I therefore think it unneceſſary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the Memoirs and Hiſtorians of that time. In like manner conſult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

‡ It was ſaid, that 300,000 French men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; concerning which, ſee the ceremonies in La Septennarie, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

* Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horſe in the ſervice of the States; his antagoniſh was a Flemiſh ſoldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boiſleduc, with whom he fought a ſingular kind of combat, of twenty French againſt

BOOK. XII.

IN the foregoing book I finiſhed the laſt military narration that will be found in theſe Memoirs, in which, at leaſt, France was concerned. The life of Henry the Great, hitherto wholly paſſed amidſt the tumult of arms, will, in the ſequel, exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by theſe ancient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not ſubſiſt as long as his majeſty pleaſed, I reſumed, by his orders, and under his inſpection, thoſe ſchemes with regard to the finances that the war had ſuſpended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the repreſentation I have already given of the ſtate of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to conſider the life which the prince and myſelf now embraced as idle and inactive: if it is leſs noiſy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again ſhut up in my cloſet, where I applied myſelf, with the utmoſt attention, to the examination of all the abuſes that ſtill remained to be rooted out of the chamber of accounts ‡; the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the aids, the ſubſidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the reſt. I laboured at once for the preſent and the future, by taking ſuch meaſures, that the method I eſtabliſhed in the direction of every part of the finances ſhould

againſt the ſame number of Flemiſh; he had the advantage in the firſt encounter, in which he killed his antagoniſt, but was made priſoner in the ſecond, and put to death by order of the governor of Boiſleduc. He was one, ſays the author of the Chronologie Septennaire, that eagerly ſought after occaſions of duelling, for which reaſon he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

‡ As to theſe reformations, conſult likewiſe Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 444.

not

not be afterwards ſubject to any alterations. I conſidered of means to enrich the king without impoveriſhing his ſubjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and ſtrove, with ſtill more aſſiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make proviſion of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, ſuch as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no leſs honour upon the ſovereign than the ſplendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpoſe I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for thoſe uſes to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been uſed in the management of theſe funds.

The ſcheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general ſtate, which ſhould lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, ſeemed always ſo happy a thought, and ſo proper to bring them to the utmoſt exactneſs, that wherever this method was practicable I made uſe of it. On the firſt day of this year, when I preſented to the king the gold and ſilver medals, as uſual, I gave him at the ſame time five of theſe general ſtates, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the firſt, which was of the greateſt importance, becauſe I there gave an account of all that concerned myſelf, as ſuperintendant, was ſet down on one ſide, all the money that was raiſed in France by the king from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of the collection, and conſequently all that was to be brought clear into his majeſty's coffers. I cannot perſuade myſelf that this method was never thought of by any one ſince the finances were ſubject to ſome regulation; but intereſt alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I ſhall always inſiſt upon it, that without this

this guide there is no proceeding without miſtakes or roguery.

THE ſecond of theſe ſtates was drawn up merely for the uſe of the keeper of the royal treaſury; here was ſet down, whence and upon what account he received all the king's money that paſſed through his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to diſburſe out of the whole ſum, and for what purpoſes. The third was compiled for the uſe of the maſter of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and ſorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of inſtruments of war, and proviſions of victual, laid up in different places, or magazines; the ſtate of the arſenals, and fortified places; and other obſervations of the ſame ſort. The fourth related to the chief ſurveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money diſburſed or to be diſburſed for the repair of every thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the king, or of the provinces. And, to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and caſtles, particularly thoſe on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works neceſſary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural ſituation and preſent ſtate.

THE king, upon my repreſentation, reformed many abuſes with reſpect to money, which had cauſed a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief inſtrument; the firſt was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to intereſt at eight, or even at ten per Cent. * a practice of equal miſ-

* It is thus that a prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and ſuperior ſkill in politics, has judged; being firmly perſuaded, that the ſtate would receive great advantages, in every reſpect, from a regulation that would oblige monied men to betake themſelves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

chief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, becauſe they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high intereſt; to the people, becauſe, by putting out money to intereſt; they made as great profit by ſitting ſtill as by labour, and thereby kept immenſe ſums of money uſeleſs to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by ſome means advantageous to the commonwealth. The intereſt of eight per Cent. was aboliſhed, and ſix per Cent. allowed in its ſtead.

THE coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and paſſed in commerce equally with that of our own ſovereign. A prohibition was iſſued, by which all money was put down but the coin of France *, that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much miſſed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more neceſſary to rid ourſelves of the merchandiſe of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much miſchief was done by foreign ſtuffs, particularly thoſe of gold and ſilver. The importation of theſe, and of all others, was forbidden under ſevere penalties: and becauſe France had no means of ſupplying herſelf with them out of her own ſtock, we had recourſe to the true remedy, which is,

* It is true, that the ſpecies of foreign gold and ſilver coin ought not to paſs current, and be confounded with that of the prince in interior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more ſuch coin abounds among our own money, the more flouriſhing will our commerce be? The hiſtorian Matthieu obſerves, tom. II. l. iii. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almoſt entirely: and the duke of Sully himſelf agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this queſtion with him, when he comes to handle it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of uſing gold and ſilver in cloaths and houſhold furniture, we ſhall alſo have occaſion, in the ſequel, to give our opinion on the principles he eſtabliſhes with regard to luxury.

to do without them; the uſe of all ſtuffs wrought with gold and ſilver being forbidden by an edict †.

ALL theſe declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any ſpecies of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiſcation of all that ſhould be intercepted in the carriage, and likewiſe of all the eſtates of the offenders, as well thoſe that favoured, as thoſe that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made not to grant any pardon for this ſort of miſdemeanors; and even to hold all thoſe ſuſpected that ſhould dare to ſolicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige thoſe perſons that carried on ſuch practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obſtinate evil than all the threats that had been publiſhed againſt it. I was not ignorant that a great many very conſiderable perſons, and even amongſt the courtiers themſelves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by ſuffering this money to paſs under their names, or by ſelling at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correſpond with the foreigners, and ſecured the privileges of paſſage. I thought it moſt prudent to apply myſelf to thoſe who were employed by them for theſe correſpondences, and promiſed them that, as a recompence for their diſcovery, they ſhould have the fourth part of thoſe ſums that were ſeized by their informations; for the king having made over theſe confiſcations to me, I had a right to diſpoſe of them. By theſe means I was well ſerved.

A MONTH was ſcarce elapſed, when I received

† He ſhewed, by his example, how to retrench the ſuperfluity of dreſs, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a pourpoint of ſattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery: he commended ſuch as dreſſed in that plain faſhion, and ridiculed others, who carried, ſaid he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. Peref. part iii.

notice from an inconſiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themſelves known, that there were two hundred thouſand crowns in gold collecting to ſend abroad, which was to be ſent at two different times, and that the firſt carriage would be much leſs than the ſecond. After having taken all the neceſſary precautions, this ſum appearing rather too conſiderable for me, I thought myſelf obliged to mention it to the king, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the ſum did not exceed ten thouſand crowns, I might appropriate it to myſelf, but that the overplus ſhould be his, "Which will come, ſaid he, very ſeaſonably, having "had ſome loſs at play that I durſt not tell you of, "nor make up with my own money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the ſecond carriage. I ordered the firſt to be dogged, and with ſuch vigilance, that it was ſtopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, tho' but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furniſhing the offenders with a pretext for getting it releaſed. There was found in piſtoles, double piſtoles, and crowns of the ſun, to the amount of eight and forty thouſand crowns, which had been concealed in ſome bales of common goods for exportation. The king's reſolution on this article was ſo well known, that the conductors named no perſon as proprietor of it; and notwithſtanding all the noiſe this ſeizure made at court, it was diſavowed by every one; and this ſum was, by his majeſty, divided in this manner: ſeventy-two thouſand livres he reſerved for himſelf, five and twenty thouſand he ordered ſhould be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-ſeven thouſand he left to me; promiſing me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general diſlike to ſo ruinous a traffic.

THOSE

THOSE that compoſed the chamber of juſtice † which was erected againſt the contractors, treaſurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of miſdemeanors in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to exerciſe far greater ſeverities. It was my advice, that theſe offenders ſhould not only be obliged to refund, but that thoſe who were convicted of embezzling the public treaſure ſhould be corporally puniſhed. Money however, the poſſeſſion of which covers all crimes it is the cauſe of, excepted this from the juſt rigour of the law ‡. I would, were it poſſible, transfuſe into the breaſts of my countrymen, ſome part of that indignation that fills mine, againſt ſo pernicious an abuſe, and all that contempt which I feel for thoſe that owe their elevation to it. If we conſider as a ſlight matter, the deſpicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this ſhameful cuſtom (for none ſtrikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourſelves the evils it has given riſe to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and diſintereſtedneſs, or to turn thoſe virtues into ridicule; nothing has more ſtrengthened that fatal propenſity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a ſecond nature, by that peculi-

† Otherwiſe called the royal chamber: it conſiſted of a preſident of the parliament of Paris, two counſellors, two maſters of requeſt, a preſident and four counſellors of the chamber of accounts, a preſident and three counſellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commiſſioners were ſent into the provinces, to give them informations of ſuch as were guilty of any malverſations.

‡ The duke of Sully ſeems to me to reaſon juſtly, when, in ſuppoſing the utility of the chambers of juſtice, he requires, that they ſhould not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to theſe corporal puniſhments. And he ſeems to me to have ſtill greater reaſon, when, in the ſequel, he adviſes to ſuppreſs this method as abſolutely uſeleſs; and entirely aboliſh, in France, the uſage of compoſitions in farming the finances; and this is likewiſe the opinion of cardinal Richelieu. Teſtament Polit. part I. ch. iv. § 5.

arity of temper, which makes us faſten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our paſſions; and nothing in particular has ſo greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of buſineſs, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almoſt the only method of arriving at the higheſt honours, and firſt employments of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted.

To go to the ſource, military virtue is almoſt the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preſerved, or dignified: and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be conſidered, that precedence muſt naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other claſſes of the community are preſerved and ſupported in that ſecurity without which there can be no property: but this ſtate of life is not the way to a great fortune; this ſimplicity and ſeparation from lucrative purpoſes, ſhew the antiquity and purity of the firſt inſtitution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, becauſe in thoſe times honour was the only reward of glorious actions: in later days, ſince the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in compariſon with the managers of the revenue, the officers of juſtice, and the drudges of buſineſs. But this compariſon terminates in an univerſal agreement, to pay to theſe gatherers of money that reſpect which muſt always be ſhewn to thoſe who are poſſeſſed of power, and are, in fact, our ſuperiors, an advantage which the former have loſt *. And, in-

* The ſame cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuſe, and propoſes a remedy for it, according to the duke of Sully's ſcheme. "Gentlemen, ſays he, cannot be promoted to places of truſt and dig-
"nity, but at the expence of their ruin; for, at preſent, all ſorts of
"people,

deed, how ſhould it be otherwiſe, when we ſee the nobility of the ſame mind, with regard to this point,

" people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried on " by means of money. For the future, all perſons ſhould be excluded " from thoſe poſts, but thoſe that have the good fortune to be of noble " birth." This miniſter concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully, " That the means of continuing the nobility in that purity of " manners which they derive from their anceſtors (theſe are his words) " is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expence which have been " gradually introduced." Part I. ch. iii. § 1. However, the impartiality which I profeſs obliges me to agree, that the notions of the duke, of Sully, are overſtrained; and that in this paſſage there is a little of what may be called invective and idle declamation. I anticipate a remark, which we ſhall have occaſion to make in what follows, and that is, the alterations which have happened in the political ſtate of Europe from different conjunctures, and eſpecially from the ſpirit of commerce, which at this day ſeems to animate it, have obliged ſtates to recede a little from theſe old maxims which relate to luxury and expence: and therefore what follows ſeems to me the moſt reaſonable method upon the whole. It is true, that that profeſſion which has for its end the defence of the ſtate, ought to be in the poſſeſſion of its principal dignities; or, which is much to the ſame purpoſe, all manner of regard, honour, and reſpect, ſhould be paid to them. The duke of Sully has therefore good reaſon to obſerve, that of all the profeſſions this has moſt to fear from luxury and effeminacy. Hence that reluctance officers ſhew to reſide with their regiments: and that averſion of the young nobility to a ſtudy, which ought entirely to engage their attention. Hence that Aſiatic pomp of high living, and thoſe exceſſive pleaſures into which armies are uſually plunged. Hence it follows, that ſoldiers, who from their youth have been only habituated to debauchery, are unable to undergo the fatigues and inconveniences of a campaign. And, laſtly, we will farther agree with M. de Sully, that the abuſes accruing from unequal marriages, are at this day carried to an almoſt ſhameful height; and that, in general, we have too much neglected a piece of policy, which has always been looked upon, and that with very good reaſon, as one of the principal foundations of the ſtrength of a ſtate, a ſtrict attention in making matrimony be honoured and reſpected. But after all theſe conceſſions, we muſt likewiſe agree, that one of the chief cares of a ſovereign being to maintain and ſtrengthen unanimity between his ſubjects, by baniſhing jealouſies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animoſities of the ſeveral orders towards each other, and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flouriſhing, the greateſt part of the maxims laid down with this view are unſupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themſelves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade, as a means without which it will henceforth be impoſſible for the great families to ſupport themſelves? We will reſume the handling this ſubject pretty often; but

as the meaneſt of the people, and making no ſcruple to mingle the moſt illuſtrious blood in a ſhameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his ſhop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuſe is neceſſarily productive of two others, confuſion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which laſt is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongril gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we ſhall find them wholly deſtitute of the plain and manly virtue of their anceſtors; no depth of thought, no ſolidity of judgment, raſh, inconſiderate, a ſtrong paſſion for play, a natural propenſity to diſſoluteneſs, a ſolicitude for dreſs, and vitiated taſte in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet theſe people engage in the army, but with ſuch diſpoſitions, to which is often added a ſecret contempt for the profeſſion they embrace, what can be expected from them? This ſubverſion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profeſſion, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the higheſt rank, and dignified with the chiefeſt honours, which, for that purpoſe, ought to be taken

it is certain, in general, that a moderate degree of attention is ſufficient to make it plain, that the maxims of government, as to politics and commerce, ſhould not at preſent be abſolutely the ſame as they were a thouſand years ago. It may be imagined, that as to the alterations neceſſary to be made in all theſe reſpects, we could not do better than rely upon the various conjunctures, and the natural diſpoſitions, which render all mankind ſo clear-ſighted with regard to their own intereſt and welfare. However, a fatal experience has but too well taught us, how dangerous it is to leave to the giddy multitude the choice of the means how to arrive at it. Of theſe alterations there are ſome which ought to accompany, or follow, and be naturally ſubordinate to, each other; a thing which the rabble can neither diſcern nor reliſh. There is in every thing exceſs or abuſe, which they can neither foreſee nor prevent. And this is the great point in the art of government, an art which requires continual application and attention. The hand of the pilot is not neceſſary to bear up the veſſel upon the waves; but without it, ſhe will in the end be daſhed againſt rocks, or at leaſt never be able to reach her wiſhed-for port.

from

from the upſtarts of Fortune; and ſince the infamy which we ſhould find theſe creatures of chance ſtained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not ſufficient to draw our contempt, it is neceſſary they ſhould be branded with public marks of diſgrace, to ſignify the rank they ought to hold.

THE king was convinced by the juſtneſs of this reaſoning. However, in this chamber of juſtice, the ſame thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the reſt; the principal delinquents found their ſecurity in that very metal for which they were proſecuted; they made uſe of a ſmall part of it in preſents, which ſaved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the queen herſelf; they gained the conſtable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and ſome others, who, though not of this high claſs, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; ſuch were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that ſort. The complaiſance of this prince for all thoſe whom he ſuffered to live in ſome degree of familiarity with him, and eſpecially for ladies, deſtroyed all his wiſe reſolutions, ſo that the ſtorm fell only upon thoſe that had reaſon to reproach themſelves with not having yet ſtolen enough to put their thefts in ſecurity. The retrenching of part of thoſe officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of juſtice. The great number of thoſe officers, as well as their extreme licentiouſneſs, are indubitable teſtimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a ſtate, and the forerunners of its ruin.

IN May the king and queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majeſties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau,

from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiſeaux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to viſit the lands of Baugy, which had been juſt awarded to me by a decree, for the great ſums which were due to me from theſe lands, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiſcated money I have lately mentioned. I was ſtopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his majeſty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king, which contained only theſe few words: "I gave you ſix days for your "journey to Baugy, but I have received letters of "great conſequence from Buzenval, which I want "to ſhew you; you will oblige me if you will come "and lie to-night here at Puiſeaux, whither you "need bring no neceſſaries. I have given orders "for your lodging, and ſent thither my hunting-"bed, and have ordered Coquet to get your ſupper "ready, and your breakfaſt in the morning, for I "will detain you no longer. Adieu, my beloved "friend."

I WISHED my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiſeaux, where I found the king, who was amuſing himſelf with ſeeing the youth of his train wreſtle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As ſoon as he ſaw me, he called Paſquier, who had been ſent to him by Villeroi with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that prince Maurice had taken the field with his army, which he had increaſed with garriſons drawn out of their quarters, and eſcorted by two thouſand waggons: that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the prince of Orange's officers, and from the prince himſelf) to croſs Brabant, the county of Leige, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected

expected aſſiſtance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld thoſe preparations with aſtoniſhment, and durſt not oppoſe his march, but that he contented himſelf with being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compaſs, and that while he obſtructed him he might be himſelf near the place where he perceived the ſtorm would fall; that, finding this ſtep, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was neceſſary to inform the king of it.

THE knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this deſign of the prince of Orange appear to me ſo dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy and upon their frontiers, through countries ſo full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liégois, that I thought them impaſſable for ſuch a number of waggons; and the king was of the ſame opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he reſolved to ſend prince Maurice his ſentiments of it, and I reſumed my rout to Baugy, in which I viſited the lands of Sully, that I had a deſign of purchaſing and did ſo accordingly the following year. The king continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the firſt ſtone for the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Croſs: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his majeſty.

HENRY's letters changed the deſign of Naſſau; he beſieged Rhimberg*, and took it on the tenth of June. The archduke Albert, in revenge, inveſted Oſtend on† the fifth of July. Maurice, on his ſide, laid

* On the Rhine.

† It will be often mentioned; this ſiege, in which many brave

ſiege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprize, or to indemnify himſelf by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the moſt important fortreſs in Brabant. I was ſtill of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king ſent for me to hear my ſentiments of it in the preſence of the courtiers who were by when the pacquet which brought the news was opened, and who all ſpoke differently of it, I ſaid that, although I was very young when I had viſited Bolduc, I had nevertheleſs preſerved the remembrance of the place; and, that not to mention its ſituation, which rendered the ſiege of it a work of immenſe labour, it ſeemed to me impoſſible, conſidering the extent of the place, and the great number of its citizens, to ſurround it in ſuch a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at leaſt without an army of twenty-five thouſand men. In effect, the prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

The war breaking out ſo near our frontiers, made Henry reſolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other deſign but to viſit that country. Although he always ſuſpected the Spaniards, he was not apprehenſive, in the preſent ſtate of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not diſpleaſed at having an opportunity to give them a little uneaſineſs, in revenge for the daily occaſions of diſcontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner ſufficient to have obliged his majeſty to do ſomething more, had not policy prevailed over reſentment. After many fruitleſs attempts to break the alliance between the Swiſs cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the diſpute about the marquiſate of Saluces, becauſe his holi-

actions were performed on both ſides, having laſted above three years; but for a minute detail of them conſult M. De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other hiſtorians.

neſs

neſs could not diſpenſe with himſelf for giving judgment againſt the duke of Savoy, they had ſent troops to that prince in the laſt campaign, under the command of the count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with marechal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himſelf had confeſſed it to his majeſty; and laſtly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marſeilles, and Bayonne.

At all this his majeſty diſſembled his diſpleaſure; but nothing provoked him againſt that crown ſo much, as the outrage which La Rochepot *, our ambaſſador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I ſwear by "heaven," ſaid Henry tranſported with rage, "that, "if I can but once ſee my affairs in order, and get "a ſufficient ſupply of money, and whatever elſe is "neceſſary, I will make ſo furious a war upon them, "that they ſhall repent of having obliged me to "take arms." However, he ſtill ſhut his eyes upon ſo daring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I ſee plainly," ſaid this prince to me ſometimes, "that through emulation, jealouſy, "and intereſt of ſtate, France and Spain can never "be on friendly terms with each other, and that a "proper ſecurity againſt that crown muſt have ſome "other foundation than words." He was ſuffici-

* Antony de Selly, count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himſelf with ſome French gentlemen, was inſulted by ſome Spaniards, who flung his cloaths, and thoſe of his companions into the river. Theſe revenged themſelves for the affront by killing and wounding ſome of the Spaniards; thoſe that fled ſoon after returned to force open the ambaſſador's houſe, and thence dragged his nephew to priſon, with others of his aſſociates that had taken ſhelter there. This difference was compromiſed by the pope, who cauſed the priſoners to be ſent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, ambaſſador of France at that court. See the abovementioned hiſtorians for the year 1601.

ently

ently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Sillery's policy, who often, in his preſence, maintained againſt me, that a ſtrict union with Spain was not only neither impoſſible nor dangerous for France, but likewiſe the moſt reaſonable ſyſtem of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I oppoſed that competition ſo natural to theſe two crowns, the oppoſition of their intereſts, and the remembrance of ſo many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour ſo artful and unjuſt, the neceſſary meaſures to be taken were to hold them always ſuſpected, and to be always prepared for defence. The laſt news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents, at leaſt in the king's opinion, who heſitated no longer about going to Oſtend, after he had diſmiſſed two celebrated embaſſies, which he received about this time.

One of theſe embaſſies was from the grand ſeignior, who, knowing that the ſophy of Perſia his enemy, had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, without taking any notice of the king of France, againſt whom he ſeemed to make an overture of his aſſiſtance at the ſame time that he aſked for theirs, he was returning one act for another. His highneſs, on this occaſion, made uſe of his phyſician, who * was a chriſtian, and inveſted him with the dignity of his ambaſſador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expreſſed himſelf, with regard to the French †, diſcovered a diſtinction and reſpect, of which there are few ex-

* Bartholomew Cœur, a renegado of Marſeilles. He demanded of the king that the duke of Mercœur ſhould be recalled from Hungary, becauſe, among the propheſies which the Turks believe, there is one, they ſay, that the French ſhall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the moſt glorious, moſt magnanimous, and moſt illuſtrious prince of the faith of Jeſus . . . the compoſer of the differences that happen between chriſtian potentates, prince of grandeur, majeſty, and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greateſt ſubjects, Henry the IVth emperor of France; ſuch were the titles which his highneſs gave the king. MSS. de la Biblioth. de Roi. vol. 9592.

amples;

amples; he ſet a higher value, he ſaid, upon the friendſhip and arms of the French, than of all the other chriſtian nations together; and that although they ſhould all unite with Perſia againſt him, he ſhould think himſelf in a condition to deſpiſe their attempts, as ſoon as he had ſecured the alliance and aſſiſtance of a king, whoſe ſuperiority over all his neighbours, as well as his great perſonal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkiſh ambaſſador preſented his majeſty with ſeveral rich preſents, and gave me two ſcymetars of exquiſite workmanſhip, which I keep with great care.

The other ambaſſador was from the republic of Venice. This ſtate had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common intereſt, united with France againſt the Spaniſh power: it had been amongſt the firſt in complimenting his moſt chriſtian majeſty upon his marriage and the peace, by the ſieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the laſt of whom was likewiſe in this embaſſy. Henry was deſirous that theſe ambaſſadors ſhould be received with the utmoſt diſtinction in Paris. He ordered them to be ſerved with his own plate, and loaded them with preſents of equal value with thoſe he gave the firſt. The letters he then wrote to me turned almoſt wholly upon this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and ſtill leſs the queen who had ſo great a concern in this embaſſy. His majeſty ſhewed ſo much reſpect for the Venetian ambaſſadors, as not to ſuffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them.

The archdukes could not fail to ſuſpect, that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obſtruct their deſigns upon Oſtend, by way of repriſal for the ill-treatment La Rochepot had received.

ceived. In order to diſcover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the count of Solre in the quality of ambaſſador, under the pretence of making him the ſame compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambaſſador to inſinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who inſtead of ſatisfying him as to the occaſion of his complaints, made, in his return, very heavy ones againſt Spain, aſſuring him however, but in a general manner, that he would not be the firſt to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promiſe the ambaſſador pretended to be ſatisfied.

The queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to ſatisfy her impatience of ſeeing and embracing her beſt friend. Henry was not leſs deſirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, eſpecially thoſe which had been juſt hinted to him by the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors when he was at Nantz. Elizabeth firſt wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of ſervice; ſhe afterwards made him the uſual compliments, and repeated thoſe aſſurances by the lord Edmund, whom ſhe diſpatched to Calais, till ſhe herſelf could arrive at Dover, from whence ſhe ſent the lord Sidney with other letters.

Henry reſolving not to be outdone in complaiſance, anſwered theſe advances in a manner that ſhewed at once his reſpect for the ſex of Elizabeth, and his eſteem and admiration of her character. This intercourſe continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whoſe jealouſy was ſtrongly excited by proximity and cloſe correſpondence. Of all the letters wrote by theſe two ſovereigns on this occaſion, I am poſſeſſed only of that in which

Elizabeth

Elizabeth informs the king of thoſe obſtacles that prevented her conferring with him in perſon, lamenting the unhappineſs of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were ſlaves to forms, and fettered by circumſpection. This letter †, becauſe it was the occaſion of the voyage I made to this princeſs, I have kept in my hands; in it ſhe tells her moſt dear and well beloved brother (for ſo ſhe called the king of France) that her concern at not being able to ſee him was ſo much the greater, as ſhe had ſomething to communicate to him which ſhe durſt not confide to any other perſon, or commit to paper, and that ſhe was upon the point of returning to London.

THE king's curioſity was ſtrongly excited by theſe laſt words; in vain did de torture his imagination to gueſs their purport. Secretary Feret being ſent by him to fetch me, "I have juſt now received

† This letter, and this whole relation of the duke of Sully's concerning Henry the IVth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear ſufficient, without any other reflections, to ſhew the error of all thoſe various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different hiſtorians concerning theſe two potentates. It was ſaid Elizabeth propoſed to Henry, either that he ſhould come to Dover, or at leaſt confer with her in a veſſel half way between theſe two towns, and that this propoſal concealed a ſnare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry by ſeizing upon his perſon in the interview, and keeping him priſoner till he reſtored Calais, and that Henry excuſed himſelf from complying with her requeſt, only becauſe he ſuſpected the deſign; others ſay, becauſe his fears of the ſea were ſo great, that he durſt not venture into a veſſel. No one ſuſpected the true motive for propoſing this interview, which was the occaſion of all theſe letters that paſſed between them, and cauſed the duke of Sully to make the ſecret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account Siri, on this occaſion, builds upon the reſentment which he ſuppoſes Elizabeth always preſerved, both of the peace of Vervins and the ſurrender of Calais, as well as her fear leſt Henry ſhould aggrandiſe himſelf too much, and on the jealouſy which the Engliſh entertained of the French. Mem. Recond. vol. I. p. 130, 150, &c. But this writer, ſo well acquainted with foreign negociations, eſpecially thoſe of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry the IVth. He knew neither this prince, nor the duke of Sully.

"letters,"

"letters," said he to me, "from my good sister the "queen of England, whom you admire so greatly; "they are fuller of civilities than ever: see if you "will have more success than I have had in dis-"covering her meaning." I agreed with Henry that it must be something of great consequence which induced her to express herself in this manner; it was resolved therefore, that I should embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other design than to take advantage of the shortness of the passage to make a tour to London, which would give me an opportunity of seeing what step the queen would take upon my arrival, neither the king nor I doubting but that she would be immediately informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended passage, but such of my domestics as were to attend me, and of these I took but a very small number.

I EMBARKED early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of those who embarked and disembarked, I was immediately discovered by the lord Sidney, who five or six days before had seen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were soon after joined by the earls of Devonshire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and asked me if I was come to see the queen; I told him I was not, and even assured him that the king knew nothing of my voyage: I likewise intreated him not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my respects to her, I had no letter to present, my design being only to make a short tour incognito to London. These gentlemen replied smiling, that I had taken an useless precaution, for that probably the guardship had already given a signal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to see a messenger from the queen, who would not suffer me to pass in this manner, having but three days ago spoke of me publicly and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident,

accident, but to hope nevertheleſs, that I might ſtill paſs undiſcovered, provided that theſe gentlemen would be ſecret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I aſſured them, I would immediately depart as ſoon as I had taken a little refreſhment: ſaying this I left them abruptly, and had but juſt entered my apartment, and ſpoke a few words to my people, when I felt ſomebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arreſted me as a priſoner to the queen. This was the captain of her guards, whoſe embrace I returned, and replied ſmiling, that I ſhould eſteem ſuch impriſonment a great honour.

His orders were to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, M. "de Roſny," ſaid this princeſs to me as ſoon as I appeared, "and do you break our fences thus, and "paſs on without coming to ſee me; I am greatly "ſurpriſed at it, for I thought you bore me more "affection than any of my ſervants, and I am per-"ſuaded that I have given you no cauſe to change "thoſe ſentiments." I replied in few words, but ſuch as ſo gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any diſguiſe, to entertain her with thoſe ſentiments the king my maſter had for her. "To give you a proof," replied ſhe, "that I believe all you have told me of the good will "of the king my brother, and of your own, I will "diſcourſe with you on the ſubject of the laſt letter "I wrote to him; though perhaps you have ſeen it, "for Stafford (that is the name of the lord Sidney) "and Edmund tell me, that the king conceals few "of his ſecrets from you." She then drew me aſide, that ſhe might ſpeak to me with the greateſt freedom, on the preſent ſtate of affairs in Europe; and this ſhe did with ſuch ſtrength and clearneſs, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great queen was truly worthy of that high reputation ſhe had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to ſhew me how neceſ-

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ſary it was that the king of France ſhould, in concert with her, begin to execute thoſe great deſigns which they both meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The neceſſity of this ſhe founded upon the acceſſions this houſe was daily ſeen to make: ſhe repeated to me all that had paſſed on this ſubject in 1598, between the king and the Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors, and aſked me if this prince did not ſtill continue to have the ſame ſentiments, and why he ſo long delayed to begin the enterprize.

To theſe queſtions of queen Elizabeth, I anſwered, That his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſtill continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raiſing, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were deſtined to no other purpoſe than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in ſuch a ſtate, as to enable him to undertake the deſtruction of a power ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed as that of the Auſtrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at ſince the peace of Vervins, as well for the general neceſſities of his kingdom, as to reſtrain the attempts of the ſeditious, and to carry on the war which he had juſt ended with Savoy. I did not diſſemble with this princeſs the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reduce the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs they were aſſiſted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reaſons, the chief weight of this war muſt fall, the houſe of Auſtria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only ſupport itſelf againſt them, but even render the ballance equal; it would therefore be uſeleſs, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to ſap the foundations of ſo formidable a power, by the ſame means only that ſerve merely to keep upon the defenſive with

with it: and it would be indiſpenſibly neceſſary to defer the attempt for ſome years, during which, France would acquire all ſhe now wanted, to enable her to ſtrike, more effectually, the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and ſtates in their deſigns, the princes of Germany eſpecially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria.

It was eaſy for the queen of England to comprehend, by the manner in which I expreſſed myſelf, that theſe were not ſo much my own as Henry's ſentiments which I communicated to her, and ſhe gave me to underſtand as much, by confeſſion, that they appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable to her, that ſhe could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too ſoon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the houſe of Auſtria within juſt bounds, it would be neceſſary that each of the allies ſhould ſo proportion all his deſires or expectations which he might conceive in the conſequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the reſt: ſuppoſing, for example, that Spain ſhould be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole, nor any part of this ſtate was to be coveted, either by the king of France, or the king of Scotland, who would one day become ſo of Great Britain, nor yet by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, already ſufficiently powerful by ſea and land, to make themſelves reſpected by the other allies; and the ſame conduct ought to be obſerved with regard to all the other ſpoils that might be taken from the houſe of Auſtria by thoſe princes whoſe dominions ſhould happen to be neareſt to the conquered countries; "For if my brother, the king of "France, ſaid ſhe, ſhould think of making himſelf

" ſelf proprietor, or even only feodal lord of the " United Provinces, I ſhould never conſent to it, " but entertain a moſt violent jealouſy of him; nor " ſhould I blame him, if, giving him the ſame oc- " caſion, he ſhould have the ſame fears of me."

THESE were not the only reflections made by the queen of England; ſhe ſaid many other things, which appeared to me ſo juſt and ſenſible, that I was filled with aſtoniſhment and admiration. It is not unuſual to behold princes form great deſigns; their ſphere of action ſo forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only neceſſary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are ſo little proportioned to perform, that they ſcarce ever find themſelves able to execute the half of what they propoſed; but to be able to diſtinguiſh and form only ſuch as are reaſonable; wiſely to regulate the conduct of them; to foreſee and guard againſt all obſtacles in ſuch a manner, that when they happen, nothing more will be neceſſary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before. This is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, proſperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce ſchemes, to execute which there is not the leaſt poſſibility. Another cauſe of ſurprize to me was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, ſhould agree ſo exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the moſt minute particulars.

THE queen, obſerving my eyes were attentively fixed on her without ſpeaking, imagined ſhe had expreſſed herſelf ſo confuſedly in ſomething ſhe had ſaid, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuouſly confeſſed to her the true cauſe of my ſilence and ſurprize, ſhe then, without ſcruple, entered into the moſt minute parts of the deſign: but as I ſhall have an ample occaſion to treat of this, in relating the great ſchemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I ſhall not trouble

trouble the reader with uſeleſs repetitions; but in this place juſt ſhew the five principal points to which her majeſty reduced ſo extenſive a ſcheme, as from the ſequel of theſe Memoirs this will appear to have been. The firſt was, to reſtore Germany to its antient liberty, in reſpect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The ſecond, to render the United Provinces abſolutely independent with Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if neceſſary, ſome provinces diſmembered from Germany. The third, to do the ſame in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it ſome of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alſace and Franche-Compté. The fourth, to divide all Chriſtendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under thoſe three which would appear to be moſt numerous and conſiderable in Europe.

Our conference was very long: I cannot beſtow praiſes upon the queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I diſcovered in her in this ſhort time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the underſtanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that paſſed between us to the king, who very highly approved all ſhe had ſaid to me. Their majeſties correſponded by letters, during the reſt of the time they ſtaid at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; meaſures were taken even on the grand object of the deſign, but with ſuch ſecreſy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of thoſe in which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed.

The king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortreſſes upon his frontier, and provided for their ſecurity: in every other reſpect, he appeared an indifferent ſpectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh: and all he

he did in favour of Oſtend, the ſiege of which was ſtill continued, was not to hinder ſome French from engaging in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, in which ſeveral of them loſt their lives; amongſt theſe, the death of young † Chatillon-Coligny, whoſe head was ſhot off by a cannon-ball before Oſtend, deſerved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told it, ſaid publicly, that France had loſt a man of great merit: myſelf, in particular, was ſenſibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almoſt all the qualities that form a ſoldier; valour, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himſelf equally beloved by the ſoldier and officer.

But Coligny was a proteſtant; and the jealouſy of the courtiers ſoon converted all theſe virtues into ſo many crimes, in the opinion of the king; they told his majeſty, that Coligny already aſpired to the diſtinction of being head of the proteſtants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was ſolicited by the duke of Bouillon; that he deſired nothing with ſo much ardour as to equal, or even to ſurpaſs, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he ſhould not regret the loſs of life, if he had the ſatisfaction to loſe it at the head of an army, fighting for the preſervation of his friends. His affection for the ſoldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the king, that he had already raiſed a jealouſy in the prince of Orange; and that his majeſty would one day have reaſon to fear a ſhoot from a ſtock that had given ſo much trouble to our kings. Henry was ſo far influenced by the inſinuations, that

† Henry de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, ſon to Francis, and grandſon to the admiral de Coligny: he carried to the aſſiſtance of Oſtend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantome, the houſe of Chatillon Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and ancient lineage, as he ſays, and who were formerly ſovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. III. p. 173.

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when I went to aſk ſome favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but alſo ſo greatly prejudiced againſt the whole family, that I deſiſted from a ſolicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myſelf, my connexions and conformity of religion with the deceaſed conſidered.

The king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleaſure to find the queen in as good a ſtate of health as he left her. He was ſeldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all poſſible care of her health *. In a letter he wrote to me ſome days before the queen lay in, he ſays, "Bring no people "of buſineſs with you at this time, no mention "muſt be made of it during the firſt week of my "wife's lying-in; we ſhall have ſufficient employment to hinder her from getting cold."

At length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; the queen was, on the 17th of September †, delivered of a ſon, whoſe ſtrong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the moſt agreeable hopes ‡. I believe I may venture to affirm, that

* "We read," ſays Bayle, in the Rep. de Lett. for January 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louiſa Bourgeois, a very ſkilful mid-"wife, who laid the queen, to perform her office ſo carefully, as that "there might be no occaſion for employing a man-midwife. Since "this, added he, would ſhock female modeſty."

† On Thurſday night about midnight.

‡ Pereſixe ſays, on the contrary, "That the labour was very diffi-"cult, and the child ſo much fatigued, that it was quite purple "when it was born, which probably impaired its vital principles, "and broke its conſtitution. The king, imploring the bleſſing of "heaven upon the infant, gave him alſo his own benediction, and "put his ſword into his hand, praying God, that he would be plea-"ſed to give him grace to make uſe of it only for his glory, and the "defence of his people." Matthieu ſpeaks in the very ſame terms: "My deareſt, ſays he to the queen, be of good cheer, for God has "granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a ſhock of

this incident gave me more joy than any one elſe. I was attached to the king's perſon by the moſt tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the moſt faithful of his ſubjects, and was therefore more intereſted in his happineſs. He was ſo well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his ſon in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he ſent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only theſe few words: "The queen "is juſt delivered of a ſon; I ſend you the news, "that you may rejoice with me." Beſides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he ſent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand maſter of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occaſion of inexpreſſible delight to him, "Not ſo much, ſaid he, for the "near concern I have in this incident, as for the "general good of my ſubjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arſenal; which was performed in ſuch a manner, that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occaſion it was not neceſſary to order public rejoicings: all his majeſty's ſubjects, from the firſt to the meaneſt, concurred in giving demonſtrations of it, in which fear and policy had no part.

THE king's ſatisfaction was only interrupted by a ſlight indiſpoſition, which he had drawn upon himſelf. La-Riviere * was his firſt phyſician, a man who had little more religion than thoſe generally have, that blend it with the profeſſion of judicial aſtrology; yet the world did him the honour to ſuppoſe, that he concealed the principles of a proteſtant

an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. Tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 411.

† La Riviere ſucceeded D'Alibouſt in the place of firſt phyſician: he had been in the family of the duke of Bouillon, who reſigned him to the king.

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under the appearance of a catholic. Henry, who already felt a tenderneſs for his ſon, that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often ſucceeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully ſought for the moſt excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the king thought no more of this deſign till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the converſation turned upon the predictions of La-Broſſe, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his majeſty and me, which we had found ſo exactly accompliſhed. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his ſon receiving new ſtrength by this diſcourſe, he ordered La-Riviere to be ſent for.

THE phyſician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de La-Riviere, "ſaid the king to him, we have been talking of "aſtrology; what have you diſcovered concerning "my ſon?" "I had begun my calculations, re-"plied La-Riviere, but I left them unfiniſhed, not "caring any longer to amuſe myſelf with a ſcience "which I have always believed to be, in ſome de-"gree, criminal." The king immediately diſcovered that this anſwer was not ſincere, and that he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehenſion of offending his majeſty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the caution of an aſtrologer, who held it dangerous to diſcloſe his ſecrets. "I "ſee plainly, ſaid Henry, that you are not re-"ſtrained by motives of conſcience; you are not "of the number of perſons that are ſo very ſcrupu-"lous; but, in reality, you are afraid of not being "able to tell me truth, or of making me angry; "but whatever it be, I will know it, and I com-"mand you, on my diſpleaſure, to ſpeak freely."

La-Riviere ſuffered himſelf to be preſſed ſtill longer; and at laſt, with a diſcontented air, either real or diſſembled, ſaid, "Sire, your ſon will live out "the common age of a man, and will reign longer "than you; but his inclination and yours will be "very different; he will be obſtinate in his opi- "nions, often governed by his own whims, and "ſometimes by thoſe of others: it will be ſafer "then to think than to ſpeak: impending ruin "threatens your former ſociety: all the effects of "your prudence will be deſtroyed: he will per- "form great things, will be fortunate in his deſigns, "and make a great figure in Europe: in his time "there will be a viciſſitude of peace and war: he "will have children: and after him things will "grow worſe. This is all you can know from me, "and more than I had reſolved to tell you." The king, after muſing a little while on what he had heard, ſaid to La-Riviere, "You mean the prote- "ſtants, I know; but you ſpeak thus becauſe you "are well inclined towards them." "I under- "ſtand, ſaid La-Riviere, what you would have, "but I ſhall ſay no more." His majeſty and I continued together a long time in converſation, making reflections on every word that had been ſpoken by La-Riviere, which remained ſtrongly on the king's mind.

It was not poſſible for me to ſtay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindneſs, an account of every thing that happened. "You cannot imagine," ſays he, in one of his letters, "how well my wife is recovered of her "lying-in; ſhe dreſſes her head herſelf, and talks "already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he ſays, "The queen goes already "into her cloſet; ſhe has a conſtitution ſurpriſing- "ly ſtrong: my ſon likewiſe is very well, I thank "God: theſe are the beſt news I can ſend a faith- "ful and an affectionate ſervant, whom I tender-

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" ly love †." Henry ſent his ſon to Saint-Germain to be nurſed, on account of the goodneſs of the air: and by one of thoſe little ſtrokes of popularity which ſhew the heart better than more oſtentatious actions, he would have him ſhewn to all Paris; for which purpoſe, he was carried openly through the midſt of that great city. The Pariſians, by repeated acclamations, expreſſed their pleaſure at this ſight.

THE king had made a promiſe to the queen, that if ſhe brought him a ſon, he would preſent her with the caſtle of Monceaux. " My wife," ſaid he, in a letter to me, " has gained Monceaux, by giving " me a ſon; therefore I deſire you will ſend for the " preſident Forget, to confer with him about this " affair, and take his advice concerning the ſecurity " that muſt be given to my children, for the ſum " which I pay for Monceaux." The city of Paris having likewiſe promiſed the queen a preſent of a ſuit of tapeſtry hangings for her lying-in, his majeſty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it: an infanta ‡ was born in Spain, about the ſame time that Providence gave a prince to France.

THE negotiation, ſo many years depending with the grand duke of Florence, was concluded this year: that the reader may underſtand the occaſion of it, it is neceſſary he ſhould know, that, under the reign of Henry the third, Ferdinand de Medicis, grand duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to poſſeſs himſelf of the little iſles of Pomegue, Ratoneau, and If, with its caſtle in the neighbourhood of Marſeilles. Henry, fully reſolved to make the grand duke reſtore them, ordered d'Oſſat, who was then on the other ſide of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1598. The

† The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is ſtill extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of Auguſt. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

‡ Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards queen of France, born the 22d of September.

grand duke not daring to refuſe them abſolutely, repreſented only, that he had expended great ſums of money upon theſe iſles, which he could not reſolve to loſe: d'Oſſat of himſelf removed this obſtacle, by engaging that the king his maſter ſhould indemnify him for theſe expences, by paying him three hundred thouſand crowns, for which twelve of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable perſons in France ſhould be ſecurity †, as if his majeſty alone had not been ſufficient to anſwer for ſo ſmall a ſum. The king, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified the treaty; and a ſhort time after the chevalier Vinta was ſent by the duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the buſineſs of the iſles upon this plan.

THE two agents did not go out of the council to ſeek for their ſecurities, and the affair was propoſed to me among the reſt: this method of proceeding with a king, whoſe power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me ſo uncommon, that I could not help laughing at thoſe who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to repreſent to me the neceſſity of diſengaging d'Oſſat from his word: I replied, that there never had been any bankers in my family; for indeed, this was rather the buſineſs of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, ſaid Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, anſwered I with ſome indignation, for

† This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that paſſed on the 1ſt of May, 1598, between the king of France and the grand duke of Tuſcany, by the intervention of cardinal d'Oſſat, which may be ſeen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Oſſat with any thing which he had not already excuſed in the letter which he wrote to his majeſty, on the 5th of May, 1598, immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, and likewiſe in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 4th of Auguſt following. He afterwards cleared himſelf more fully, in a long memorial, which is alſo inſerted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reaſons which M. de Sully produces againſt this convention groundleſs, nor believe that the duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition.

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they are all either deſcended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there aroſe a diſpute in the council, which was reported to the king, who only ſmiled, and ſaid they had done wrong to mention it to me without firſt informing him, ſince he had not acquainted me with it himſelf. "I am aſtoniſhed," added he, "that he did not give a ſtill ruder anſwer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, "and how highly he values himſelf upon the nobility of his birth: let this affair be concluded "without his, or any other perſon's entering into "any obligation: I gave no permiſſion to the "biſhop of Rennes to agree to ſuch an expedient." The grand duke did not allow himſelf to be ſolicited upon this head; he ſet the king free from the obligation of the twelve ſecurities, out of regard to his perſon. The act for it was paſſed on the fourth of Auguſt 1598, but the affair was on neither ſide concluded till the chevalier Vinta arrived in 1601.

I WAS likewiſe employed to ſettle certain eſtates in Piedmont, for which the count of Soiſſons was deſirous of treating with his majeſty: they came to him by the death of the princeſs of Conti, in right of his wife, who was of the houſe of Montaffie †. My report was not very favourable for the count: I repreſented to the king, that theſe eſtates, which had been too highly valued, were likewiſe ſubject to ſo much litigation, and were ſo diſadvantageouſly ſituated, that theſe conſiderations ought greatly to leſſen the price. The count of Soiſſons thought proper to diſſemble the reſentment he entertained againſt me for this declaration.

FRESNE-CANAYE ‡ was appointed ambaſſador to

† The prince of Conti was firſt married to Jane de Coëme, lady Bonnetable, and widow of Lewis count de Montaffié, in Piedmont; and the count de Soiſſons had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Lewis by the ſaid Jane de Coëme.

‡ Philip Canaye de Freſne: Philip de Bethune, count de Solles and de Charoſt.

Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the great mortification of the other miniſters, eſpecially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often diſputes, which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. Theſe two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which, they pretended, belonged only to them. The nomination to embaſſies falling under this head, they told his majeſty, in my preſence, that, for the embaſſy to Rome, they had abler perſons to propoſe to him than Bethune, who, they ſaid, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no conſiderable ſervice to the ſtate. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embaſſy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himſelf well; and it could not be denied that he was circumſpect, wiſe, and honeſt; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the leaſt that are eſſential to an ambaſſador. What theſe gentlemen ſaid, therefore, was as falſe as it was contemptuous; and this I made them ſenſible of in my anſwer, by ſhewing them the value of thoſe ſervices which the ſtate received from the military art, and which thoſe gentlemen ſeemed to place below all others.

VILLEROI, piqued in his turn that I had not given the firſt rank to his, maintained his cauſe with great heat and animoſity. His majeſty found himſelf obliged to command us to be ſilent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding ſuch diſcourſe in his preſence; and that, without entering into a diſcuſſion of our ſervices, we ought to be ſatisfied that he was pleaſed with them. I aſked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to cloſe the mouths of perſons who ſo unjuſtly placed the lazy buſineſs of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military profeſſions; and I truly ſpoke my ſentiments of ſuch partiality. "Well, well," ſaid Henry, interrupting me, "I

"pardon

" pardon you all, and take your words, as I muſt, " but upon condition that, for the future, you " will avoid theſe little debates; and that when " one of you recommends his friend to my favour, " the others do not oppoſe it, but ſubmit to my " choice: at preſent I determine in favour of the " ſieur de Bethune, whoſe family, wiſdom, probity, " and even capacity, I eſteem, having employed " him in many affairs both of peace and war, which " he has acquitted himſelf of worthily." The king promiſed Villeroi that, after my brother's return, he would diſpoſe of the embaſſy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner. I went ſeveral times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his majeſty's orders concerning affairs that could no otherwiſe be communicated to him, and, being often, and for a conſiderable time at a diſtance from each other, I received, as uſual, a great number of letters from this prince: that in which he mentions the marechal d'Ornano †, who had given him ſome cauſes of complaint, has ſomething ſingular in it. " I never, ſays " Henry, ſaw ſo much obſtinacy and ignorance to- " gether in one man, but I pronounced him dange- " rous; he has reached the ſummit of inſolence. " Take care that he gives me no occaſion to be con- " vinced what he is, that is, unworthy of the ho- " nours that I have beſtowed upon him: his fideli- " ty only could deſerve them; his many acts of diſ- " obedience will ſoon take away all claim to that " character: to ſay the truth, I am quite tired of " him." The ſtates of Languedoc meeting this year, the king wrote to me, that he muſt transfer the place of their ſitting to the Lower Languedoc, " that my ſervants, ſaid he, may not go firſt to thoſe " of the league." In another letter, he ordered me

† Alphonſo d'Ornano, ſon to San-Pietro de Baſtelica, a colonel of the Swiſs.

to ſend for ſome foals of his breed of horſes ‡ at Meun; and in another, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in Advent and Lent; the reſt, which contain only a detail of ſlight circumſtances, I ſuppreſs, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the ſmalleſt conſequence.

I SHALL compriſe, in one article, with which the memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to marechal Biron, of whoſe revolt there was at length the moſt convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very ſtrong ſuſpicions againſt this marechal, his majeſty had a private converſation with him in the con-

‡ "From his early years," ſays Brantome, ſpeaking of Henry II. in his Vies de hommes illuſtres, tom. II. p. 42, "he was always very "fond of the exerciſe of riding, and kept always a great number of "horſes in his grand ſtables of Tournelles, which were the principal, "as alſo at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the inſpection "of M. de Boiſſy, maſter of the horſe, the moſt valuable part of which "was his breeding mares, wherein he took great delight." He adds, that this prince having one day ſhewn his ſtables to the emperor's maſter of the horſe, the latter told him, that his maſter had not near ſo fine a ſet of horſes, extolling them very highly, eſpecially as the greateſt part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the laſt reigns, were the cauſe that the king's breeding ſtables had then fallen into decay, and were in a worſe condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of thoſe beforementioned, where horſes were bred for the king's uſe; and theſe ſtables were very inconſiderable, as may be ſeen from the archives of the ſecretary of the king's houſhold, which are kept at Petitſperes in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to diſtinguiſh it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is alſo in Berry.

In 1604, the duke de Bellegarde, maſter of the horſe, cauſed Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding-ſtables, to remove the king's ſet of mares to St. Leger, a foreſt belonging to the crown. In 1618, ſome conſiderable additions and improvements were made: and greater ſtill about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, miniſter of ſtate, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of ſtoned horſes and young colts, by means of Alain de Garſault, who was then captain. It continued in this ſtate till 1715, at which time it began to be ſettled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garſault, Lewis de Lorraine, count d'Armagnac being then maſter of the horſe in France: ſince this laſt eſtabliſhment, it has every day more the appearance of the ſtables of the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

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vent of the Cordeliers, and appeared ſo well informed of all his tranſactions with the duke of Savoy, that Biron, either becauſe he then thought that, after ſuch a diſcovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he ſought only to deceive the king, confeſſed to him, that he had not been able to reſiſt the offers made to him by the duke of Savoy, joined to his promiſe of giving him the princeſs † his daughter to wife. He aſked the king's pardon for theſe proceedings, and proteſted to him, with the utmoſt appearance of ſincerity, that he would never again ſuffer himſelf to be intoxicated with ſuch expectations.

HENRY thought he might depend upon a promiſe, which was nevertheleſs forgot in the inſtant that it was made. Biron reſumed his firſt deſigns; went, according to his cuſtom, at different times into the provinces, careſſed all the malecontents he found amongſt the gentry, entertained them continually with the injuſtice he received from the king, and his credit and the correſpondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into ſtronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others ‡. He, who was pride and fierceneſs itſelf, laid ſuch a reſtraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the ſoldiers the moſt humane and affable

† The marechal de Biron, by marrying the duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the king of Spain, and that duke, the ſeigniory and inveſtiture of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the county de Charolois: this was one part of the grand project of both theſe courts, which conſiſted in diſmembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be ſeen in Vittorio Siri, Mem. rec. vol. i. p. 103, 127, who likewiſe extols the ſervices which the count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occaſion, to Henry IV. during his embaſſy at Rome.

‡ The author ſays nothing, in all this account, of the conſpiracy of the marechal Biron, his impriſonment, and the proceſs againſt him, but what is confirmed by the hiſtories and memoirs of that time: they mention theſe extravagant words of his: "The king does not at all "hurt me, for I know how to be revenged on crowned heads, and "even emperors." Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. ii. p. 333.

man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition aſſume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might ſtill have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his deſigns within his own breaſt, and if this conduct was not an effect of that diſpoſition which is obſervable in many perſons, who, by their diſcourſe, appear reſtleſs, diſturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themſelves headlong into rebellion.

HENCE aroſe Henry's ſuſpence concerning the conduct of marechal Biron, though he ſtill continued to have him carefully obſerved, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of his conduct in the laſt journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had paſſed the end of the preceding year, and the beginniug of this. Biron, who on his ſide had his ſpies at court, being apprehenſive of the impreſſion which his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that ſubject. His letter is dated the third of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injuſtice even his majeſty did him in believing him capable of deſigns he had never entertained. He excuſed his journey to Burgundy, on account of ſome domeſtic affairs which made it abſolutely neceſſary; and aſſured me, that he ſhould leave that province in two days: he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had ſent to me. This letter was too ſoon followed by inconteſtable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought ſincere; and I was ſo far from believing his profeſſions in it, that they only increaſed my ſuſpicions.

DURING the king's ſtay at Calais, he received ſtill clearer and more circumſtantial informations againſt Biron, doubtleſs becauſe this marechal, believing him-

himſelf leſs ſuſpected than before, took greater liberties than uſual: but Henry, inſtead of taking thoſe meaſures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable; and reſolved, if poſſible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleneſs, kindneſs, and ſuch diſtinctions as make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions upon the heart of an honeſt man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thouſand crowns from his majeſty, the king thought it very reaſonable, and granted it immediately; and becauſe that no obſtacles ſhould retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper meaſures to ſatisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him inſtantly one half of the ſum in ready money, and aſſigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a neceſſity for coming to thank me for this favour: he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten and even deſpiſed by this prince, now that he had no longer occaſion for his ſword, this ſword, ſaid he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impoſſible for me to keep ſilence upon this occaſion: I repreſented to the marechal, with a kind of reproach, that he accuſed Henry ſo much the more unjuſtly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not diſdained to ſolicit himſelf for its payment: hence I took occaſion to ſpeak with ſtill greater freedom to Biron; I remonſtrated to him that, altho' he ſhould even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he ſpoke of his maſter, and of a maſter who, by his perſonal qualities, ſtill more than by his rank, engaged the eſteem and reſpect of his ſubjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more ſenſible of than diſreſpect to their perſons, an envious deſire to leſſen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. Theſe terms were ſufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron poſitively that I thought

thought him both ungrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my diſcourſe. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his ſoul, which might give him a title to real praiſes; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's ſelf beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of its fear: a deteſtable attempt, and almoſt always fatal to thoſe that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the ſtate and the public good, we might, in ſome degree, make both depend upon us; he by his abilities for war, I by the ſhare I had in the government at home; and hence we ſhould taſte the refined pleaſure of knowing ourſelves to be either the authors or inſtruments of every public benefit. I finiſhed my remonſtrance, by endeavouring to prevail bpon him to go and return his majeſty thanks for the gratuity he had juſt received.

To all this, Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindneſs, nor to repentance by conviction, anſwered only by exaggerating his own merit ſo unſeaſonably, and in ſuch boaſtful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing that I had hitherto only ſuſpected, which was, that the harſhneſs of his manners, and the inequality of his humour, proceeded from a ſlight taint of madneſs, for which ſo much the leſs allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reaſoning, it could not hinder him from ſpeaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had juſt ſaid to him, having reaſon to look upon me as a man in whoſe preſence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let ſomething eſcape him concerning the deſigns that filled his head. I took no notice of it; but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himſelf, and to repair it, pretended to acquieſce with my reaſons, and to approve of my ſentiments: from that moment,

ment, I ſo abſolutely deſpaired of ever being able to recal this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to diſguiſe from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty perſuaded of the treachery of any perſon about him: he anſwered, that he knew Biron perfectly well; that he was very capable of ſaying all that was related; but that this man, who, in conſequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himſelf above every one elſe, was nevertheleſs, a moment after, the firſt to mount his horſe, and dare all dangers for thoſe whom he had railed at ſo much before; therefore he well deſerved ſome indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was aſſured Biron would never be induced to rebel againſt him; that if this ſhould happen, as he had already given a proof on thoſe occaſions where he had ſaved the life of this marechal, and in the laſt place at Fontaine-Françoiſe, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewiſe how to ſhew him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him ſtill greater demonſtrations of kindneſs, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

He was ſent ambaſſador to queen Elizabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary converſation *. He was imprudent enough not only to mention the earl of Eſſex to this princeſs, whom ſhe had lately beheaded, but likewiſe to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whoſe great ſervices had not been able to preſerve him from ſo tragical an end; and Elizabeth had the complaiſance, in anſwer to this impertinent diſcourſe, to juſtify her conduct with

* A particular account of this embaſſy may be ſeen in Matthieu, tom. II. l. 2. p. 426, & ſeq.

regard

regard to the earl, by ſhewing the neceſſity ſhe was under to puniſh him: ſhe told him, that Eſſex had madly engaged in ſchemes which greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might have ſtill, by ſubmiſſion, obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends nor his relations could prevail upon him to aſk it. I know not whether the queen of England perceived any marks of reſemblance between the French ambaſſador and the Engliſh favourite; but the reaſonable obſervations on the nature of royal heads, and the duty of ſubjects, with which ſhe concluded her diſcourſe, ſeemed to inſinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it.

At his return from London, the king appointed him likewiſe ambaſſador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; ſtill continuing to believe, that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body ſo wiſe and politic as the Helvetic Senate is, would ſubdue at length all inclinations to ſedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are paſſions that can never be wholly quelled; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly ſounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No ſooner was he returned from his ſecond embaſſy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had loſt, he laboured more aſſiduouſly than before to bring all his chimerical ſchemes to perfection; either perſuaded thereto by the duke of Bouillon and the count of Auvergne, who had likewiſe formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To ſtrengthen their mutual engagements, theſe three gentlemen ſigned a form of aſſociation, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the proceſs againſt marechal Biron, they reciprocally promiſed, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue

tinue united for their common ſafety *to and againſt all, without any exception* (theſe terms deſerve a particular obſervation) to keep inviolably ſecret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in caſe any accident ſhould happen to either of the aſſociates. There was no proſpect of ſucceeding in their deſigns, but through the operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correſpondence with theſe two powers, and on the other ſide, to ſecond their endeavours, went about picking up all the diſaffected perſons they could find amongſt the gentry and ſoldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greateſt diſtance from Paris, particularly thoſe in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the ſedition occaſioned by the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre, which I had oppoſed ſo ardently in the aſſembly *des Notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to ſuppreſs; however, it could not poſſibly be raiſed according to the original plan; it had been changed into a ſubſidy of eight hundred thouſand franks, of which one half was ſunk in the taille, and the other in the cuſtoms.

BIRON and his aſſociates, to increaſe the diſcontent of theſe people, already ſtrongly incited by that impoſt, perſuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would ſhortly be burthened with a duty upon ſalt; and many perſons were kept in their pay in each of theſe provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from theſe diſturbers of public tranquility, if that of Henry the Great, ſo wiſe, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its riſe from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poiſon which produced thoſe turbulent ſpirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happieſt condition, a languid inactivity: hence ariſes that reſtleſs ambition, which keeps their reaſon enſlaved, makes them

them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themſelves; and raiſes their malice againſt princes, whoſe whole power, ſo obnoxious to them, is not ſufficient to gratify their inordinate deſires.

HENRY's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himſelf he knew ſo well, and he began to fear he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to the moſt violent remedy to ſtop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from perſons that could not be ſuſpected; all agreed in the chief point of the conſpiracy; ſome mentioned the act of aſſociation, and, having ſeen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac * gave the king the moſt circumſtantial, and moſt probable account that had been yet tranſmitted to him; beſides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his collegues had received ſeveral thouſand piſtoles from perſons who came from Spain; that they expected ſums ſtill greater, and a ſupply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels ſhould begin by ſeizing ſome ſtrong maritime places, on the frontiers of Spain; that conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Bayonne, Narbonne, Marſeilles, and Toulon; and that the count of Auvergne was to wait only till theſe were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour †.

ALL theſe informations made it abſolutely neceſſary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpoſe to the arſenal, where he found me buſy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither

* John de Sudrie, baron de Calvairac.
† In Upper Auvergne.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

I fol-

I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the laſt extremities with marechal Biron. He had for a long time made uſe of La-Fin * to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinſman. La-Fin had been ſent ſeveral times to the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon ſome diſguſt Biron had given him, he retired to his houſe, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impoſſible to gain him; and for this purpoſe his nephew, the vidame of Chartres †, was made uſe of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majeſty thought it neceſſary to take immediately into all thoſe places through which Biron had paſſed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limoſin, and eſpecially about Blois.

LA-FIN having at length reſolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conſpiracy. The king was deſirous that he ſhould be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be ſeen by none but thoſe who were ſent to confer with him. His majeſty judging by what he had firſt declared, that my preſence would be neceſſary, wrote theſe few words to me: "My friend, "come to me immediately, on an affair that con-

* James de La-Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the houſe of Beauvois-la-Nocle; "the moſt dangerous man, ſays Perefixe, and "the greateſt traitor in France: the king knew him well, and often "ſaid to the marechal, Don't ſuffer that man to come near you, "he's a rogue, he'll be the death of you. He endeavoured to ac-"cuſe the marechal de Biron, from a jealouſy he entertained, that "the baron de Lux had ſupplanted him in the marechal's favour; "and in revenge to the count de Fuentes, upon the diſcovery of his "attempting to betray the latter, for that he had cauſed his ſecretary "to be arreſted: yet that he might the better deſtroy the marechal "de Biron, he pretended ſtill to have the ſame attachment to him as "before."

† Pregent de La Fin, vidame de Chartres.

"cerns

"cerns my ſervice, your honour, and our mutual "ſatisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took poſt immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majeſty in the middle of the large avenue to the caſtle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myſelf at his feet: "My friend," ſaid this prince to me, preſſing me in his arms, "all is diſcovered; the "chief negotiator is come to aſk pardon, and to "make a full confeſſion: in his accuſation he in-"cludes a great number of perſons of high rank, "ſome of whom have particular reaſons to love me*; "but he is a great liar, and I am determined to be-"lieve nothing he ſays without good proofs: he ac-"cuſes one man, among the reſt, whom you little "think of; come, gueſs who this traitor is." "That is not in my power, ſire," I replied. After preſſing me ſome time longer, but to no purpoſe, "You know him well, ſaid he, it is M. de Roſny." "If the others are no more guilty than I am, re-"plied I ſmiling, your majeſty need not give your-"ſelf much trouble about them." "I believe ſo, "ſaid the king; and to ſhew you that I do, I have "ordered Bellievre and Villeroi to bring you all the "accuſations againſt you and the others; I have "even told La-Fin, that I would have him ſee you, "and ſpeak to you freely: he is concealed at Mi-"Voie, and will meet you on the road from "Moret; appoint the hour and place, and none "ſhall be preſent at your conference."

I COULD not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from ſome of Biron's people, who ſuppoſed me to be

* We may, doubtleſs, rank among the number of theſe, the charge which La-Fin brought againſt Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to Chron. Septennaire, ſince his friends made uſe of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire, we have at leaſt this advantage, "ſaid M. de La-Force to Henry IV. throwing himſelf at his feet, "that there is "nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your majeſty's "perſon. Vol. 9129 of the MSS. in the king's library.

a friend of their maſter, or from Biron himſelf and his aſſociates, who thought it was lawful for them to make uſe of it to the Spaniſh miniſters, to ſwell the number of their partiſans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom: it was impoſſible, that two letters I wrote to the marechal, through zeal rather than complaiſance, might have involved me in the number of theſe conſpirators; and the rather becauſe, in alluſion to the converſation that paſſed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himſelf uſeful and dear to the kingdom, by thoſe meaſures I had marked out to him: I likewiſe told him, that although I was almoſt always about the king's perſon, yet I had never heard him expreſs any reſentment againſt him: and I adviſed Biron not to aſſert ſuch a thing publicly, becauſe the world would not fail to believe, and report, that he only feigned to have received ſome diſguſt from his majeſty, becauſe his own conſcience reproached him with having deſerved it. Thus what I ſaid with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my diſadvantage.

HENRY's opinion, as he has ſince told me, was, that this accuſation of me did not take its riſe either from Biron or any of his aſſociates, but from La-Fin alone, at the inſtigation of ſome perſons, who hoped by that means to accompliſh my diſgrace: however that may be, it made ſo little impreſſion on the king's mind, that his majeſty, who had lately given me the government of the Baſtile, and intended that the patent for it ſhould not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occaſion, and cauſed it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he ſaid, but me, by whom he could expect to be ſerved with fidelity, in caſe he ſhould have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a few

few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I HAD a long converſation with La-Fin § alone, in the foreſt; after which, Bellievre, Villeroi, and myſelf, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs againſt the duke of Bouillon, marechal Biron, and the count of Auvergne; ſuch as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the ſame kind. The names of many perſons beſides theſe three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little juſtice as my own, which was there likewiſe, I ſhall not, on ſo ſlight a foundation, give them a place in theſe Memoirs, which, to diſtruſtful perſons, might make them ſtill more liable to ſuſpicion than the depoſitions of La-Fin. After this examination we returned to his majeſty, and a council being held, the reſult of it was, to keep every thing ſecret, that Biron might not be warned of the meaſures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arreſted with the greater ſecurity. It was likewiſe reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould ſet out immediately on the journey before mentioned. We ſhall ſee in the following year what theſe meaſures produced.

IT is neceſſary to take ſome notice of what happened this year in ſeveral ſtates of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confuſion by a rebellion that was ſtirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland; Elizabeth ſent to beſiege Kinſale, the ſtrongeſt place that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of: the earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spaniſh troops in Ireland, haſtened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the lord Piercy. Alonzo remained priſoner there, and Kinſale ſurrendered.

VERY different reports were raiſed concerning the deſtination of the fleet which was fitted out about

§ Matthieu, vol. II. book iii. p. 482.

this

this time by the king of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode ſome time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempeſt, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very ſhattered condition: the command of this fleet had been given to prince Doria. Probably it was deſigned againſt Portugal, where the true or the falſe Don Sebaſtian * ſtill continued to have a great number of partiſans. Some ſecrets which he revealed, that it ſeemed could have been only known to the king of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body which he ſhewed, and ſome other circumſtances of the ſame kind, confirmed his aſſertion. However, to confeſs the truth, none of theſe proofs appeared unanſwerable; nevertheleſs, the king of Spain thought it the wiſeſt way to rid himſelf privately of this pretended prince: ſo that the truth was never known, or at leaſt to a few perſons only, whoſe intereſt it was not to publiſh it.

A DIET was convened at Ratiſbon, with intention to make ſome compoſition between the popiſh and proteſtant religions, but this came to nothing: upon the firſt queſtion propoſed, which was concerning the authority of the holy ſcriptures †, ſuch heat was

* There is ſomething ſurely very ſurpriſing and uncommon in this perfect reſemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the hiſtorians, was between the real Don Sebaſtian and this man, who is ſaid to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no leſs difficult to gueſs, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumſtances of the king of Portugal's life, which were ſo peculiar and ſecret, as to aſtoniſh all the world. The Portugueſe, ſtill more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as alſo through their hatred for Spain (this laſt motive might likewiſe be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, perſiſted in ſupporting the claims of this impoſtor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, an. 1601, p. 217. See what has been ſaid a little higher. The Spaniards were ſo thoroughly convinced of their having diſcovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuſcany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer ſcrupled to expoſe him as a public gazing-ſtock, mounted on an aſs; after which they ſent him to the galleys. See Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 451.

† This queſtion was publicly debated, during ſeveral ſittings, between

raiſed among the diſputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The papiſts maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the conſent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility, to the other rights with which they had ſo liberally, and with ſo little reaſon, inveſted the Pope: the proteſtants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule ‡.

THE war in Tranſylvania ſtill continued diſadvantageous to the vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the emperor; they were defeated by George Baſte, and Clauſembourg was taken. The duke of Mercœur ſignalized himſelf no leſs at the head of the imperial troops againſt the Turks ‖; he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortreſs eſteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to beſiege it. The archduke, Ferdinand of Auſtria, leſs fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Caniſe §; and the Knights of Malta took and deſtroyed the city of Paſſava in the Morea.

CONSTANTINOPLE and the palace of the Grand Signior was in no leſs commotion, through the diſcontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded ſo far as to ſtrangle, in the preſence of Mahomet III. himſelf, ſeven of the favourites of his ſeraglio, and threatened to depoſe him: he was a man, indeed, whoſe vices

tween the catholic divines of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and the proteſtant divines of Ludovio count palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenbourg; the two firſt of theſe princes aſſiſted at it in perſon, and were obliged to put an end to this diſpute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the caſe, afterwards aſcribed to themſelves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

‡ This, however, will always be, in the opinion of unprejudiced perſons, one amongſt the falſe doctrines of Calvin, the moſt untenable, namely, that ſcripture is the beſt interpreter of ſcripture; or, what is far worſe, that its ſenſe may be determined by private perſons. This is the chief ſource of that monſtrous confuſion of ſects, with which the pretended reformation was immediately over-run.

‖ The duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the firſt warriors of his time. See them, as alſo the other facts that are here ſpoken of, in the hiſtorians.

§ By the chriſtians called Chateauneuf.

rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, ſlothful, avaritious, and ſunk in every kind of voluptuouſneſs.

BOOK XIII.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were by all thoſe domeſtic inſurrections we have ſeen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from reſigning themſelves, this winter, to their accuſtomed pleaſures and ſhews. By the queen's order, and for her amuſement, a magnificent interlude was compoſed: the arſenal was the place the king choſe for the repreſentation of theſe ſhews, on account of the conveniency its ſpacious apartments afforded both for the actors and ſpectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the neceſſary orders at the arſenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its repreſentation; but the king choſe rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

TOWARDS the middle of Lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or fifty horſe: the king ordered the ſame honours to be paid him that the marechal de † Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, ſon to the marquis of Brandenbourg, ſtaid likewiſe ſome time at Paris. It was not uſual to defray the expences of perſons of his rank, eſpecially, as it was obſerved by his majeſty, if they did not follow the court: but the king was reſolved to ſhew a particular reſpect to a prince,

† Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1620.

whoſe family, one of the moſt illuſtrious in Germany, had always profeſſed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to ſend him every day, in his majeſty's name, preſents of the richeſt wines, and proviſions for his table.

WHEN every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majeſty, in the ſeveral journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the neceſſary orders for ſecuring peace and tranquility in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as thoſe through which he was to paſs, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her houſhold accompanied his majeſty in this journey; I likewiſe attended him, but did not ſet out till a few days after: the king ſent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of ſtaying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than neceſſary for a regimen that was preſcribed him by his phyſicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it laſted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewiſe was the moſt proper city he could chuſe to diſcover the ſecret practices of marechal Biron: Henry had many perſons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themſelves ſolely to the making thoſe diſcoveries, and almoſt every hour ſent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limoſin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was ſupported by four or five noblemen of the court, whoſe names were not expreſſed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the ſchemes for ſurpriſing the frontier cities, and the arguments they made uſe of to diſguſt the

the people with the preſent government (the ſame which I have already mentioned) made up part of theſe advices, to which the following new informations were added.

THE ſeditious, to prepoſſeſs the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majeſty's journey to Blois, which was doubtleſs a ſource of uneaſy apprehenſions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a deſign to chaſtiſe ſeverely thoſe that had reſiſted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commiſſaries that had been ſent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of paſſage, and to ſettle it himſelf in ſuch a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it ſhould produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on ſalt to be every where received by taking poſſeſſion of the ſalt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than ſome rents ill paid from the town-houſe of Paris; and laſtly, to ſtop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raiſe (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permiſſion to levy) and the revocation of the draw-backs granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the ſeveral diſtricts.

THUS was this good prince repreſented throughout his whole kingdom as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one ſet of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion againſt him, and another to ſow ſedition amongſt the proteſtant officers and gentry: to the firſt they repreſented, that this treaſure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery; they perſuaded the ſecond, that the perſecution againſt them was already begun, that the payment of their garriſons, the funds for the preſervation of their

cities, the penſions of their leaders, their officers, and miniſters, would be leſſened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be ſo much the leſs difficulty in depriving them of all their fortreſſes, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the proteſtants from all public offices and employments, by refuſing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs againſt the perſons of the conſpirators had been as clear as thoſe of their plots, the king might have that inſtant given free courſe to his juſtice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet leſs certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the moſt there were only ſuſpicions, though thoſe indeed were very ſtrong, againſt them: the other lords of the court, whoſe names, to the number of eight, were found in the liſt, might be well ranged under a third claſs of perſons, whoſe doubtful conduct required ſome explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epernon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majeſty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themſelves a proof of their real ſentiments, by attentively obſerving the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began firſt with d'Epernon. A juſt regard to truth has ſo often reduced me to the neceſſity of ſpeaking diſadvantageouſly of this nobleman, that it is with a real ſatisfaction I ſeize this opportunity of ſhewing his innocence, and giving him the praiſe he deſerves.

D'Epernon hearing whiſpers about the court of intrigues and cabals, eaſily apprehended that, as it is uſual to judge of the preſent by the paſt, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongſt thoſe that were called enemies to the ſtate; for which reaſon he took the precaution to renew to his majeſty at Fontainebleau his aſſurance of fidelity: theſe aſſurances

ances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced againſt him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithſtanding this ſtep, he ſtill continued to ſuſpect him, and becauſe d'Epernon in ſpeaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had paſſed between him and the duke, letting me know at the ſame time, that d'Epernon ſeemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the firſt advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged ſhould appear to be yet only intentional, his majeſty might not have any cauſe to reproach himſelf with having ſuffered the duke to ruſh into actual treaſon, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I OBEYED the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Epernon's innocence: he ſaid the ſame to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of ſome commotions and ſecret intrigues, but ſaid that theſe were always ſo general, and ſometimes ſo full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that thoſe who were ſaid to be the authors or favourers of theſe plots having never given him the leaſt intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the preſent ſituation of affairs rendering the execution of it abſolutely impoſſible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his perſon, as a ſecurity for his own fidelity, during ſix months; and if that time was not ſufficient, he ſwore to him that he would not quit him till his ſuſpicions were entirely eraſed. The king could have no objection to ſo reaſonable a propoſition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Epernon was guiltleſs.

THE duke of Bouillon diſcovered far leſs ſincerity: on the firſt mention his majeſty made of the plot to

him, he treated it as a calumny invented by ſpies and informers, againſt the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own ſervices, and appear at leaſt to gain the money that was given them to exerciſe this employment: to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majeſty, he added an application of a paſſage in the New Teſtament, "It is impoſſible but "that offences will come, but woe unto him thro' "whom they come," a paſſage, which, if taken in its true ſenſe, might have been with more juſtice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not ſtop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the proteſtants, complained of their being oppreſſed with impoſts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happineſs increaſed, they became poor and miſerable; that, beſides theſe general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard proteſtants ſay, that ſooner or later it would be their deſtiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuſance of the ſtate; that both they and their children would be hated, perſecuted, and proſcribed; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to theſe reports, becauſe that perſons of the greateſt abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor conſulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new impoſts that were eſtabliſhed, they could not inform the people of the true motive of thoſe reſolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to any thing but a deſign to enſlave them.

It was ſufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, ſought to inſinuate to the king, that all theſe reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppreſſed with a multitude of taxes; and that this ſeeming diſcontent was put on to conceal from his majeſty his real ſenti-

ſentiments: but the inſolence and the ſeverity of his expreſſions ſhewed plainly enough that he could not reſiſt this opportunity of diſcharging ſome part of his malice; he even added, with the ſame ſubtilty and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to perſuade himſelf, that his majeſty intended to aboliſh the privileges of the viſcounty of Turenne, and to purchaſe the rights and claims of the houſe of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing elſe, he had only replied, that he was perſuaded the king would never act in ſuch a manner, on account of the ſervices he had at all times received from the proteſtant body; he finiſhed by proteſting to his majeſty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the ſeditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom ſhould be as true as he believed them falſe, yet it ſhould never leſſen his duty and fidelity.

THE king, diſſembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this diſcourſe, made him a propoſal of the ſame nature with that which the duke of Epernon had of himſelf ſo frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confuſion: he told the duke, that he was ſatisfied with this aſſurance, and that he would no longer preſerve any remainder of diſtruſt of him, provided he would give the ſame ſatisfaction that Epernon had offered, which was not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his perſon without communicating to him all his deſigns, and calling him to his councils, as he ſeemed to deſire, that he might be himſelf a witneſs of his ſolicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both proteſtants and catholics an inconteſtable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preſerved an uncommon preſence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and ſurpriſe at the ſentiments his majeſty diſcovered for

him; and as to the propoſal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himſelf into a condition to ſatisfy it, not for ſix months only, but for his whole life, if neceſſary, by taking a journey throughout all his eſtates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long ſtay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majeſty required, he reſerved, nevertheleſs, the power of doing only what he pleaſed himſelf, and of making a plauſible excuſe for the ſudden departure he was meditating.

HENRY, comprehending his deſign, reſolved to call a ſecret council to deliberate upon the meaſures that were neceſſary to be taken in this conjuncture. The count of Soiſſons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and myſelf, were all that were preſent at this council: all other affairs were poſtponed till † Deſcures was heard, who had been ſent by his majeſty to invite marechal Biron to court, and whoſe report was ſuch that it was unanimouſly reſolved to arreſt this marechal and the count of Auvergne, as ſoon as they arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, before they left the court. Almoſt all the counſellors were of this opinion, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed amongſt them qualified it no otherwiſe, than by ſaying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, becauſe that acting nothing by himſelf he would be eaſily reduced to reaſon, when he was ſeparated from thoſe who hurried him on to his ruin. I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its ſingularity: mine, however, was directly oppoſite: I could not approve of the arreſting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon: if, in ſuch caſes, ſuſpicions were to ſerve for proofs, it was likewiſe neceſſary, I ſaid, to arreſt all whom La-Fin had accuſed, and myſelf the firſt; that, in caſe they ſhould afterwards be found innocent,

† Peter Fougeu, lord of Deſcures.

they

they would, by this precipitate action, loſe an opportunity of ſeizing Biron and Auvergne, whoſe treaſons were manifeſt, ſince it would be impoſſible to arreſt them all at the ſame time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing againſt the priſoners. The arreſting of Bouillon and Epernon, I added, would have this farther ill conſequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majeſty could not diſpenſe with himſelf from treating them as traitors, through a juſt fear of what their reſentment only of ſuch public outrage might induce them to act againſt him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner-time. His majeſty, being deſirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me ſnatch a ſoldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

When I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a crowd of people who attach themſelves to men in power, I ſaw the duke of Epernon advancing to meet me, who, with the ſame air of conſcious innocence which I had before obſerved in him, told me, that ſuch long and ſecret councils alarmed a great many perſons, but he was not of the number, becauſe he had nothing to reproach himſelf with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more diſpoſed to pardon the guilty, who confeſſed their crimes, than to puniſh the innocent on ſuſpicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court, "but thoſe whoſe conſciences are clear need not "have recourſe to that expedient." "I am one "of theſe," added Epernon, "and I am reſolved "not to leave the court while theſe diſcontents con-"tinue." "You cannot do better, monſeigneur," replied I; "and I promiſe you, that, on this occa-"ſion, you ſhall not loſe the merit of having taken "ſo good a reſolution."

When I came home, I ordered my maitre d'hotel

not to furniſh my table as uſual, but to ſerve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in juſt as I was ſitting down to table: "Come waſh imme-"diately," ſaid I, without telling him of the orders I had juſt given, "and take your place." He was greatly aſtoniſhed to hear me, after I had drank two glaſſes, and eaten a haſty morſel, aſk for the fruit, and, at the ſame time order my horſe to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleaſed at this order. "Pardieu, "monſieur," ſaid he, "I am not ſurpriſed that "you paſs for one of the wiſeſt noblemen in France; "I don't know any one who can drink three glaſſes "during the whole time you are at dinner." "Well, well, monſieur Nicolas," replied I, "do "you make an end of your dinner, as for me I "have buſineſs that calls me elſewhere."

I RELATED to his majeſty what d'Epernon had ſaid to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epernon had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by perſons, whoſe religion and diſpoſition were different from his, by which likewiſe, while he had no advantages to hope for, he ran the hazard of being ſtript of his eſtates and employments. D'Epernon had judgment enough to know that the ſcheme of theſe rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not," ſaid the king, "that probably in his heart he is not glad of theſe "diſorders, that he may become more neceſſary to "me; but he knows by experience, ſuch deſigns "are often blaſted." His majeſty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to ſtay at court, but to

* Simon Nicolas was the king's ſecretary, "a poet, a facetious "man, and an old offender, ſays the Journal of Henry the IVth. "believing in God only for intereſt, and, for this reaſon, he became "the more acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners "of thoſe wretched times. He died two years after, in the 70th "year of his age, in his laſt illneſs expreſſing himſelf with infa-"mous impiety."

wait

wait till he went to Poitiers, becauſe he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours for this purpoſe, in the preſence of meſſieurs de La Nouë, de Conſtant, d'Aubigne, and de Preaux, but all were ineffectual.

During their majeſty's ſtay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under ſome perplexity in relating, for it made too much noiſe to be paſſed over in ſilence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, leſt I ſhould betray the ſecret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it perſonally concerned; the medium therefore which I ſhall obſerve, is to recount only ſo much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported that the king and queen had ſome difference together, which was confirmed by the king's ſending Armagnac * for me ſo early in the morning, that he was ſtill in bed, as well as the queen, and contrary to their uſual cuſtom, each in their ſeveral apartments. It was obſerved that I had been ſeveral times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been ſeen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain ſome great favour of them. As nothing in ſuch caſes eſcapes the inquiſitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon theſe circumſtances, as alſo that with the names of the king and queen, they heard thoſe of the duke and ducheſs of Florence and Mantua, Virgil, Urſin, Don John, Bellegarde, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine Selvage, and the marchioneſs of Verneuil; other perſons, they ſaid, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to diſcover ſomething by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often buſineſs with her, and who publicly paid her

* Firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

the ſame reſpect as a ſervant to his miſtreſs, and often addreſſed her by that title, had been ſeveral times ſent by the queen to bring her, and that ſhe paſſed many whole afternoons ſhut up with her majeſty in her cloſet, when ſhe was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

But that which afforded moſt matter for diſcourſe, was that, at the time when theſe diſputes ran higheſt, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately cauſed to be built at Blois, over thoſe that were the length of the garden below: it is that in which there is the odd repreſentation of a hind with a ſtag's horns. It was obſerved, that his majeſty ordered two Swiſs, who underſtood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet cloſed up; and that during two hours and more which we continued together, we ſeemed to talk with great earneſtneſs and action. They might, notwithſtanding the diſtance, hear ſome of our words, from which they could draw no lights; but it was not the ſame with thoſe which his majeſty ſpoke when he went out; theſe they underſtood and carefully remembered. "No more need "be ſaid of it. I will regulate my whole conduct "by your advice, ſaid the king, that I may be no "longer reproached with obſtinately following my "own will; but remember, that we may probably "both repent it one day, for you cannot but be af-"fected with any misfortunes that happen to me. "I know the diſpoſition of thoſe perſons who fo-"ment our differences, they will be the cauſe of "great uneaſineſs to the ſtate: gentleneſs and in-"dulgence are laudable qualities, I confeſs; but "you cannot deny alſo, that their extremes are "dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewiſe to diſtinguiſh the latter part of my reply to the king: "It was indeed, a part of prudence, I told "him,

" him, to foreſee and to prevent bad accidents, but " it was equally neceſſary to avoid haſtening them " by uſeleſs precautions." On this they founded their ſuſpicion, that the king had a deſign to proceed to ſome violent meaſures againſt certain perſons of the queen's † houſhold, and who were moſt in her confidence.

FROM Blois the king came to Poitiers; he afterwards ſhewed himſelf in the Limoſin and Guienne: his preſence produced every where ſo good an effect, that he found no oppoſition to his will, not even to the eſtabliſhment of the penny in the livre ‡: he might have afterwards continued this impoſt, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a ſmall ſubſidy, and afterwards to ſuppreſs it entirely. The edict of revocation expreſſed, that his majeſty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his ſubjects. Henry, pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his journey §, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was ſoon followed by marechal Biron.

THE conſternation his party was thrown into by

† This is ſpeaking very plainly; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can ſcarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a reſolution to clear the court of theſe informers, who exaſperated the queen's mind againſt him, but likewiſe to make this princeſs ſenſible of her indiſcretion, by forbearing to ſee her, and obliging her to live at a diſtance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by ſending her back to Florence. We may ſee, in the Hiſtory of the Mother and Son, tom. i. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Roſny thought this laſt courſe rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumſtances conſidered.

‡ La Septennaire ſays, that M. de Roſny was ſent for this purpoſe by his majeſty to Rochelle; and that he was commiſſioned by the Rochellers to make remonſtrances to the king, for ſuppreſſing the pancarte or tariff of this impoſt.

§ During this journey to Poitiers, ſays La Septennaire, which laſted near two months, the court ſeemed melancholy, the king penſive; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois; all which was owing to the public and private diſquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

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the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not ſo far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a reſolution to go to court, which ſeveral other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon ſuch a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate ſupply of what troops and money he had occaſion for. Too glaring an oppoſition of the king's will might raiſe ſuſpicions of his treaſonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had eſcaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, repreſented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refuſals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal ſtroke to the marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himſelf, nor to retire into any of his fortreſſes, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I HAD prepared Biron for this ſtroke, by the precautions I took ſome months before: I repreſented to him, that it was neceſſary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places in Burgundy ſhould be caſt over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myſelf to all the duties of my employment, as grand maſter, was alone ſufficient to have made this propoſal paſs unſuſpected; but that I might not give the leaſt umbrage by it to the marechal, I was the firſt to offer him to ſupply the deficiencies, by furniſhing him with plenty of every thing that was neceſſary from the arſenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I conſented that Biron ſhould diſpatch ſome of his ſoldiers to Lyons, to eſcort the boats that were to be loaded with the pieces of cannon I was to ſend him, and that he ſhould receive them before he ſent away thoſe he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken ſuch meaſures every where, that the boats from Lyons, which went by the Saone very ſlowly, were

were ſtopped by the way, till thoſe that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his juriſdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther.

BIRON did not perceive the artifice I had made uſe of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he diſcovered ſo violent a rage againſt me, and boaſted ſo publicly that he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewiſe, as if without deſign, poſted the light horſe upon the paſſage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impoſſibility they were now under of defending themſelves, but that it was neceſſary they ſhould receive the king, till by foreign aſſiſtance they had provided for their ſecurity. Deſcures and Jeannin acted in ſuch a manner with them, as to increaſe this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewiſe, that he had ſought for an interview with the king with no other view than to ſound him, and that he had found him very far from gueſſing the truth. This he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he paſſed him, he ſaid theſe words; "Courage, my maſter, and ſpeak boldly." The council had likewiſe ſo carefully kept the ſecret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was deſigned againſt Biron; d'Epernon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, ſent him ſuch offers of ſervice as are uſual amongſt perſons of high rank §; in which, after

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had ſeen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La Fin deceived him, by burning, inſtead of it, a piece of waſte-paper.

§ The duke d'Epernon did not deny, that upon this occaſion he had performed all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron: "When he converſed with him upon this affair, ſays the hiſtorian of "his life, he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but "with great openneſs and ſincerity: He acquainted him with La-"Fin's treachery, and ſhewed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted him

what had paſſed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has ſince confeſſed himſelf.

I HAD taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king ſent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he affects "great modeſty and reſerve; haſte hither ſpeedily, "that you may adviſe us what is to be done: Adieu, "my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavillion where I was lodged, with Praſlin †, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his

"him to throw himſelf upon the king's mercy. This clears the "duke d'Epernon. Du Pleſſis-Bauſſonniere, a gentleman of ho-"nour, and very much attached to the duke (it is the ſame whom "he ſent to meet the marechal) was the perſon employed to uſe all "ſorts of arguments to prevail with him to aſk the king's pardon: "hence this gentleman, aſſured of his own, and his patron's inno-"cence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country, af-"ter that the king, who was not ignorant of this ſtep, had cauſed the "marechal de Biron to be arreſted; in which he did the duke "d'Epernon a conſiderable ſervice. And he afterwards gave him a "ſecond piece of advice, which proved very ſucceſsful, and that was, "to confeſs freely to his majeſty all his proceedings with the mare-"chal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with "him." The ſame hiſtorian, in this account, throws in ſome hints, which diſcover the very bottom of the duke d'Epernon's ſentiments, and which at the ſame time ſerve to ſhew his character: "The duke d'Epernon, ſays he, and Biron, having gone together to "the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his majeſty be-"ing told beforehand of their coming, placed himſelf at a window, "to obſerve, through the glaſs, their motions and countenance. "A friend of the duke d'Epernon, who was about the king, gave "him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accord-"ingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was adviſed; and "being more and more confirmed in the teſtimony he received from "his conſcience of his innocence, and filled with a juſt and high in-"dignation to ſee his fidelity ſuſpected, he walked on with an up-"right countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where "he knew the king leaned. This his majeſty took particular notice of, "and made thoſe about him do ſo too. The king afterwards made "a match at tennis, in which the count de Soiſſons, with the king, "played againſt the duke d'Epernon and the marechal." It is at this match that the hiſtorians of that time make the duke utter a good ſaying, telling the marechal, "that he played well, but choſe his ſide "badly." Hiſt. de la vie du duc d'Epernon. an. 1602. p. 205.

† Charles de Choiſeul, marquis de Praſlin, captain of the firſt company of guards, died a marechal of France in the year 1626.

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walk, told me, that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron † a confeſſion of his crime, although he was ſo little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majeſty afterwards laid open to me his moſt ſecret ſentiments with regard to the marechal; he ſtill felt for him all his former tenderneſs, and beheld him not with reſentment, but compaſſion: ardently he wiſhed, that I would ſuggeſt to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a ſtate criminal: but this was not eaſy to be done, conſidering the diſpoſition Biron was known to be of; if it was dangerous to ſuffer him to eſcape, when he ſhewed no ſigns of repentance, it was no leſs ſo to releaſe him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treaſon.

THE king once more reſumed a reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, which was, to endeavour to reſtore the marechal to a right way of thinking; but as he had not been able to ſucceed in this attempt himſelf, he ordered me to undertake it, and promiſed me to avow all I ſhould ſay to Biron to engage his ſubmiſſion, provided that

† The king, wearied out with his obſtinacy, ſuddenly left him, ſaying, as he went away, "Well, I muſt learn the truth elſewhere: "Adieu, baron de Biron." Theſe words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that ſtruck him to the ground: the king thereby degrading him from thoſe many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The ſame day, after ſupper, the count de Soiſſons alſo exhorted him, in the king's name, to own the truth to him; and concluded his remonſtrance with this ſentence of the wiſe man, "The "anger of kings is the forerunner of death." Peref. ibid. After dinner, ſays le Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majeſty, ſhewing him his ſtatue in relievo, triumphing over the vanquiſhed, ſays to him, "Well cou- "ſin, if the king of Spain had ſeen me thus, what would he ſay?" To which he lightly made anſwer, "Sir, he would fear you but "little." All the lords that were preſent took notice of this preſumptuous anſwer, and the king looking ſternly at him, Biron, who obſerved it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that "ſtatue, but not this perſon."

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I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had ſaid, to prevent the deſign of arreſting him, to which he muſt have recourſe if the marechal perſiſted in his obſtinacy. "If he opens himſelf freely to you, ſaid "the king, upon the confidence you muſt endea-"vour to inſpire him with of my favourable inten-"tions towards him, aſſure him, that he may come "to me without fear, and confeſs all; and if he "diſguiſes no part of the truth, I promiſe you, "upon my royal word, I will pardon him chear-"fully."

I WENT to the caſtle to ſee the marechal, who was in his majeſty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a ſufficient number of attendants with me: and the marechal, ſeeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to ſalute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to ſoften the reſentment I knew he entertained againſt me: "How is this! "monſieur, ſaid I, embracing him, you ſalute me "with the gravity of a ſenator, contrary to your uſual "cuſtom; you muſt not be thus reſerved, embrace "me a ſecond time, and let us talk freely." When we were ſeated, and out of the hearing of any perſon in the room, "Well, monſieur," ſaid I, in an obliging tone, "what a ſtrange man are you! "have you yet paid your reſpects to the king? "how were you received by him? what has he ſaid "to you? you know his diſpoſition is frank and "open, he likes others to be ſincere with him; I "am told you behaved in a very reſerved manner "to him, which was far from being ſeaſonable, "nor did it ſuit with either his temper or yours: I "am your kinſman, your friend, and your ſervant, "take my counſel, and you will find it will be uſe-"ful to you; tell me freely what you have upon "your heart, and depend upon it I will procure you "ſatisfaction; be not apprehenſive that I will deceive "you." To all this Biron contented himſelf with reply-

replying in a cold and indifferent manner, "I "have waited on the king with all the reverence "and reſpect that I owe him; I have anſwered all "his queſtions, which were only on general mat-"ters; nor had I any thing more to ſay to him." "Ah! monſieur, replied I, it is not thus that you "ought to act with the king; you know the good-"neſs of his heart, open yours to him, and declare "freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it ſhould "be ſo, all your grievances; and I promiſe that, "before night you ſhall be ſatisfied with each other." "I have nothing more to ſay either to the king "or to you than what I have already ſaid, returned "the marechal; but, if his majeſty entertains any "ſuſpicion of me, or thinks I have given him any "cauſe of complaint againſt me, let him or you ac-"quaint me with the occaſion of theſe ſuſpicions "and diſguſts, and I will give you ſatisfaction." "The king," ſaid I, in my eagerneſs to ſave him, "is offended at your coldneſs; for as to other par-"ticulars, added I immediately, he is quite igno-"rant; but let your conſcience be your judge, and "act in the ſame manner as if you knew we were "informed of your moſt ſecret actions, nay even "your words and thoughts; for I proteſt to you, "upon my honour, this is the moſt certain way to "obtain whatever you can deſire from the king. "The method I recommend to you I always follow "myſelf: if it ever happens that I commit any little "fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the "king, who then grants me all I wiſh: if you will "believe me and take my counſel, dear marechal, "purſued I, you and I ſhall govern the court, and "be at the head of affairs." "I am willing to be-"lieve you," replied Biron with the ſame coldneſs, "but I have nothing to accuſe myſelf of; I feel my "conſcience perfectly at eaſe, ſince the confeſſion "I made the king at Lyons." Although I had probably ſaid but too much already, yet I could not

not hinder myſelf from making him ſtill ſeveral other inſtances, which he received no better, and ſoon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

THE king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had ſaid to Biron, and his anſwers. "You have gone rather too far, ſaid this prince to "me, and have ſaid enough to create ſome ſuſpicion "in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go into "that gallery," added his majeſty, after reflecting ſome moments upon the blindneſs and obſtinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, "and "wait for me there; I would talk to my wife and "you alone." Accordingly he returned a ſhort time afterwards with the queen, and ſhutting the door of the gallery, he told us, that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the ſafety and happineſs of the ſtate, leaving him no other part to take but that of arreſting marechal Biron and the count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was to conſider how to do it ſecurely †. His majeſty was of opinion, that we ſhould wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his reſpective lodging, and that then ſoldiers ſhould be ſent to inveſt them. I propoſed that they ſhould be

† It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain perſon put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after ſupper, in the name of the counteſs de Rouſſy his ſiſter; and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no anſwer, he doubted ſomething elſe was the matter; and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arreſted, and directly ſhewed it to one of his friends called De Carbonnieres, who ſaid to him, Then, adieu, ſir, I wiſh I had a poignard in my breaſt, provided you were now ſafe in Burgundy. To this he made anſwer, Suppoſe I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithſtanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midſt of his game, the ſieur de Mergé, a gentleman of Burgundy, was obſerved to whiſper ſomewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d'Auvergne came alſo, and twice touched him on the ſide, telling him, it is not ſafe for us to be here. Sept. ibid.

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in the king's cloſet till the night was far advanced; and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majeſty's retiring, ſhould be withdrawn, they ſhould then be ſeized as they went out of the king's apartment. "I do not ſee how "this can be done, replied Henry, without having "my chamber and cloſet filled with blood; for "they will not fail to draw their ſwords, and de-"fend themſelves. If this ſhould happen, I had "rather it were in their apartment than mine." I thought it of moſt conſequence, upon this occaſion, to avoid, as much as poſſible, all noiſe and confuſion; but the king continuing firm in his firſt propoſal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to ſupper, "and at nine o'clock, ſaid he, let your "horſes be prepared, and you and all your people "be booted, ready to mount and ſet out when I "ſend for you."

I WITHDREW to my pavillion, where, after giving orders conformable to thoſe I had received from his majeſty, I went into my cloſet, from whence I could ſee all that paſſed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavillion oppoſite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to obſerve what was doing on that ſide where I expected ſoon to ſee the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock ſtruck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, ſaid I, returning into my chamber, where all my domeſtics waited for the ſcene that was preparing, ſome at play, ſome in converſation, and others aſleep, I am afraid, ſaid I, that they have not taken their meaſures right, and have ſuffered the birds, which with ſo little difficulty they might have taken, to eſcape, and which will not be eaſily entrapped again. I then ordered them to ſaddle my horſes, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my cloſet, and wrote a few words.

I CON-

I CONTINUED there half an hour, after which I heard a noiſe at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, "Monſieur, the king "ſends for you." I looked out at the window, and knew the meſſenger to be La Varenne, who went on ſaying, "Monſieur, come immediately, the "king wants to ſpeak with you, and to ſend you "to Paris, to give the neceſſary orders there, for "meſſieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne are made pri-"ſoners." "And where were they taken, ſaid I †." "In the king's cloſet," he replied. "God be "praiſed, ſaid I, that the king has followed that ad-"vice." I ran directly to his majeſty's apartment. "Our men are ſeized, ſaid he to me, mount your "horſe, and go and prepare their lodgings in the "Baſtile; I ſhall ſend them in a boat to the gate of "the arſenal next the river: make them land there, "that they may not be ſeen, and carry them with-"out any noiſe through the midſt of your courts "and gardens. When you have made proper diſ-"poſitions in the arſenal for their reception, if you "can before they arrive, which they will do ſoon "after you, go to the parliament and the town-"houſe, and declare there what has happened; tell "them that, at my arrival, they ſhall know the rea-"ſons for this proceeding, which they will find to "be juſt." All theſe orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment the priſoners

† Vitry arreſted the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, ſays he to him, the king has commanded me "to give him an account of your perſon: deliver me your ſword." "You but jeſt," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins Vitry, the "king has ſo commanded me." "Pray, ſays the marechal again, "let me ſpeak to the king." "No, Sir, returns Vitry, the king is "retired to reſt." Praſlin waited at the ſame time for the count d'Auvergne at the gate of the caſtle, to whom, as he came out, he ſaid, "You are the king's priſoner." "What I, I, returned the "count d'Auvergne much ſurpriſed." "Yes you, Sir, ſays Praſlin "to him. I arreſt you in the king's name: deliver me your ſword." "Here, take it, replies the count, it has never killed any but wild "boars: if you had acquainted me ſooner of this, I would have "been in bed and aſleep two hours ago."

landed

landed at the arſenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine who bore the title of mademoiſelle de Sully.

I GAVE the care of the priſoners to the ſoldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and poſted them in ſuch a manner that they might be ſaid to be guards upon each other. I likewiſe placed a guard upon the baſtion oppoſite to the windows in the priſoners apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower; ſo that, as I wrote to the king, it was impoſſible they ſhould eſcape, unleſs by the interpoſition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majeſty obliged me to take all theſe precautions. A few days after the detention of the priſoners, the king wrote to me that he was informed, there was a ſcheme laid to procure their eſcape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I ſhould anſwer for them. I conſented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my ſoldiers, who, to make an eſcape practicable, muſt have been corrupted every one. Another time the king ſent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was alſo againſt my perſon: a boat full of ſoldiers was, in the night, to come up the river, and the men were to land at the ſteps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the ſame by the ſecond, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, freſh horſes being in readineſs for them at the end of every ten leagues; and that, when in poſſeſſion of my perſon, they were to deal with me by way of repriſal, as Biron ſhould be dealt with. This laſt information, although ſo circumſtantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the reſt: I thanked his majeſty, however, for giving it to me. He had the goodneſs to command me to be ſtrictly attentive to my own ſafety, aſſuring me, that, if the deſigns which were laid againſt me ſhould ſucceed, he would

not

not hesitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners, and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

The first president, the president de * Blancmesnil, and the two counsellors de Fleury and de Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavillion in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither and brought back again, without being seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one; and that marechal Biron †, seeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La-Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said was all the present he had to make her; and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weakness which this man ‡, who, amidst the greatest dangers of

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president; Nicholas de Potier, sieur de Blancmesnil, president; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Philibert de Thurin counsellor of the grand chamber.

† The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

‡ These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marechal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition, as the son for ignorance; he could scarcely read. The following account of him, from the Chronologie Septennaire, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely, that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He was particularly fond "of splendor, proud, and ostentatious, and even has been often known "to despise the pleasures of the table and live abstemiously, that he "might

war, had acquired the character of intrepid, ſhewed at his execution, have furniſhed matter for much diſcourſe, and doubtleſs will not be forgot by hiſtorians: as for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, ſome circumſtances that regard me perſonally.

WHILE preparations were making for trying the two ſtate priſoners, they often deſired to ſpeak with me*: two conſiderations hindered me from giving

" might gratify his fantaſtic paſſion for glory; he was daring in bat-
" tle, and immeaſurably ambitious: he was ſo preſumptuous as to be-
" lieve, that neither the king nor France could do without him; he
" was alſo become ſo malevolent and ſlanderous, that he ſpoke ill of
" all princes; he has been often heard to ridicule the maſs, and
" make a jeſt of the pretended reformed: there are numberleſs in-
" ſtances given of his having but little religion; he relied very much
" on the predictions of aſtrologers and divines." The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to conſult, under a borrowed name, the old aſtrologer La Broſſe, the ſame of whom M. de Sully ſpeaks ſo often in his memoirs. " This good man, ſays he, who was then in a little tower or garret
" that ſerved him for a ſtudy, ſaid to him, Well, my ſon, I ſee the
" perſon for whom this horoſcope is caſt will arrive at great honours,
" through his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a
" king, but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it." " And
" what is the meaning of that, ſays the baron de Biron." " Don't aſk
" me the meaning of it, returns La Broſſe?" No, ſays the baron, but
" I muſt know." After many altercations between them, La Broſſe at length ſaid, " The meaning is this, my friend, he will do ſo much that
" he ſhall have his head cut off." Upon this, the baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards leaving him half dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the door with him. This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of ſenſe would have ſhewn any regard.

* He requeſted the ſieur de Baranton, M. de Praſlin's lieutenant, to wait on M. Roſny from him, and tell him that he deſired to ſee him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earneſtly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of ſervice which he expected from him, as he always had a great eſteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and ſuch a friend that, had he been perſuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were perſons more guilty than himſelf, but that he was the moſt unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earneſt entreaties which the ſieur de Baranton made in his name ſo greatly affected M. de Roſny and his lady, the ſieur Zamet, and others, who were preſent, that they were unable to ſpeak for ſome time, and ſat liſtening in tears. At length M. de Roſny broke ſilence and ſaid, " I cannot ſee him, nor
" intercede for him, it is now too late; had he been perſuaded by

them this ſatisfaction; firſt, becauſe it would be to no purpoſe to hear the prayers and ſolicitations of Biron, whoſe death was too neceſſary for the good of the ſtate, and too firmly reſolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon; and ſecondly, having been comprehended myſelf in La-Fin's depoſitions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant perſons room to ſuſpect that I had uſed any endeavours with the priſoners to keep them ſilent with regard to me, or that I had any occaſion to ſpeak to them. It was my deſign, on the other hand, that, if any ſuppoſed me to have had the leaſt connexion with Biron, they ſhould think that, by thus refuſing to ſee him, I ſhould make him reſolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that ſuppoſition, he muſt, for many reaſons, regard as a traitor. He reverenced my innocence, and if he ſpoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praiſe the counſels I had given him, and to condemn himſelf for not following them.

DEFFUNCTIS, grand-provoſt of the Iſle-de-France, took down in writing all the converſations in which marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuſcript to me ſome time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confeſſion to the ſieurs Garnier and Maignan, doctors of the Sorbonne, aſked if there was no perſon there belonging to monſieur de Roſny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him and ſaid, "Monſieur Arnaud, I deſire you will carry my laſt farewel to monſieur de Roſny, and tell him, that to-

"me he had not been in this melancholy ſituation, for he ought to "have declared the truth to his majeſty, from the time of his arrival "at Fontainebleau; and ſince he did not ſo, he has taken from the "king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that "of interceding for him." Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the hiſtorian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482, to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke of Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs.

"day

" day he loſes one of his beſt friends, and the moſt " affectionate kinſman and ſervant he ever had: I " have always highly eſteemed his merit, and va- " lued his friendſhip. Alas!" ſaid he, after raiſing his voice and ſhedding ſome tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, " had I believed him, I ſhould have avoided this " fate: tell him, I beſeech you, that I recommend " my brothers to him, particularly my brother * " Saint Blancard who is his nephew, and that I in- " treat he will give my youngeſt brother ſome poſt " about the dauphin, and that he would tell them " that, although I have failed in my duty and obe- " dience, yet that they ought faithfully to perform " theirs, and continue always firm in their attach- " ment to the king; but that he would not let " them come immediately to court, leſt they ſhould " ſuffer any reproaches on my account." Another time Biron, talking of me, ſaid, " The king has, " in monſieur de Roſny, a faithful ſervant, and a " wiſe and prudent counſellor; his majeſty has done " well to make uſe of him; for while he continues " to direct his councils, France will be happy, and " I might have been ſo likewiſe, had I governed " myſelf by his advice." On any other occaſion I ſhould have avoided inſerting, in theſe Memoirs, ſuch diſcourſes in my praiſe; but on this I did not think myſelf at liberty to make the leaſt alteration in the marechal's words. I was ignorant of his having given theſe public teſtimonies of his eſteem for me, when I joined with the reſt of his relations † in

* John de Gontaut, ſeigneur de Saint Blancard, had married mademoiſelle de Saint-Geniés, niece to M. de Sully. The marechal de Biron had no other brothers living; he muſt therefore comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Meſſieur de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Roſſy, de Chateauneuf, de Thémines, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went three days after the arreſt of marechal de Biron, to throw themſelves at the feet of his majeſty, who was then at S. Maur des Foſſés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author ſpeaks of here. Henry comforted them by reminding them of the example

imploring a favour for him, a ſlight one indeed, it was only to change the place deſtined for his execution; accordingly, inſtead of the Gréve, which was named in the ſentence that was paſſed upon him, his majeſty permitted the marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Baſtile.

THE death of Biron entirely diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been ſent at the ſame time by his majeſty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took poſſeſſion of all the places there which had been held by marechal Biron, without ſtriking a blow, and ſent Senecé to inform the king that this province had ſubmitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom Mr. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings againſt the conſpirators ſtopped here; and, except Fontenelles*, whom Henry thought it neceſſary to puniſh for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the reſt. The number of the conſpirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the moſt conſiderable courtiers† were involved in the guilt. I ſtrengthened as much as poſſible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned thoſe whom I knew to have had ſome ſhare in the confidence of Biron, and repreſented to them ſo plainly, that all

of the conſtable de Saint Paul, allied to the houſe of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a ſimilar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the ſame fate, had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Bibliot. royale, vol. 9129, where likewiſe may be ſeen a collection of pieces relating to the marechal de Biron's proceſs.

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenez to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a ſledge, and broke alive in the Gréve. "The king, ſays M. de Pe-"reſixe, in conſideration of his family, which was very illuſtrious, "granted to his relations that, in the arret, he ſhould not be called "by his own name; but hiſtory could not conceal it." M. De Thou, I v. 128. ſpeaks of him as of a fellow who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was ſomething more than mere ſuſpicions againſt the conſtable de Montmorency, and even againſt the duke de Montpenſier. Mem. recond. vol. I. p. 103.

they

they had now to do was to throw themſelves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almoſt all purſued this method: the ſecrecy which I promiſed them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cauſe to repent of a ſtep of which the king and myſelf only were witneſſes, they were ſoon convinced that his majeſty not only took care to ſhew he had no reſentment againſt them, but likewiſe appeared to hold them in higher eſteem than before. Herbert, who was ſecretary to the party, and had been ſeveral times ſent into Milan, and throughout all Italy, by marechal Biron, was likewiſe arreſted. I was ordered to interrogate him in the preſence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depoſitions, the king having promiſed him a pardon, upon condition that he ſincerely declared all he knew. The principal diſcovery he made, and that which gave the fulleſt conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonſo Cazel had been ſent by that court at different times with large ſums of money to marechal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majeſty had no deſign to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, ſigned by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

The baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amneſty; his perplexity, when he heard of the impriſonment of his friend, had been very great, becauſe he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to ſtay in the kingdom; he was ſtill undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majeſty with an order to attend him, promiſing him his pardon, at the ſame time, if he would endeavour to deſerve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, ſenſible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the meſſenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would aſſure him that he ſhould not be expoſed to the ſhame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his

accuſers; that he ſhould be continued in his poſt *, and permitted to retire from court after his confeſſion: he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or inſincere. There being no letter from his majeſty, De Lux appeared contented with a promiſe under my hand that he ſhould receive no harm.

THE king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majeſty as he was going to hunt, threw himſelf at his feet, and was beginning a long ſpeech, when the king, who had not leiſure to hear him then, ſtopped him ſhort, by ſaying, "Go to monſieur de Roſny, "and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was ſent, raiſed ſuch apprehenſions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his eſcape. However, he came to the arſenal, but under ſuch terrors, that, inſtead of liſtening to any thing I ſaid to him, he was continually looking round him; and his apprehenſions were increaſed when he ſaw his majeſty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arſenal, the king having ſent them thither, becauſe he intended to paſs by the arſenal in his return from the chace. De Lux now thought himſelf loſt. "Ah! monſieur, ſaid he to "me, I came hither upon the king's word and "yours; do you intend to detain me." "Why "do you aſk me this queſtion, monſieur, ſaid I." "The guards, ſaid he, which I perceive entering "in files, perſuaded me that it is not the king "who is coming, but that they are probably ſent "for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to ſpeak to the king before he was confined, promiſing, and I believe very ſincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have obſerved your uneaſineſs, replied I, but

* He was governor of the caſtle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

"be

"be not afraid, I have no orders to arreſt you; "ſpeak freely to the king, ſwear to be faithful to "him, and keep your oath; you will then have "nothing to apprehend; had the duke of Biron "acted in that manner, he would have been now "alive." That moment a meſſenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and deſired to ſpeak with me; the evening was ſo far advanced before the chace was ended, that, inſtead of coming to the arſenal, as he had propoſed, he went directly to the palace. This meſſage relieved the baron De Lux from his terrors.

THE next day he had a conference with his majeſty, which laſted above four hours; he gave no cauſe for accuſing him of indiſcretion in concealing his accomplices, but named ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, that Henry, glad to find in ſuch general accuſations a pretence for believing none, and for making himſelf eaſy, treated all thoſe whom De Lux accuſed, and who were continually about him, no leſs favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with marechal Biron's deſigns; but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongſt the crowd, determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithſtanding all the advances and promiſes which I made them. The conſtable had indeed kept up a ſort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was perſuaded that it was merely perſonal, and extended no farther, I thought myſelf obliged to juſtify him to his majeſty, on whom his aſſurance of fidelity made ſo little impreſſion, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of ſuſpicion: I may ſay with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards reſtoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reaſon to repent of his clemency, to him or any of the others *, except

* It is not certain that Henry IV. never had reaſon to repent of this indulgence. As to the aſſaſſination of this prince, there remains a

only the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

THE nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs againſt them, made it highly probable that their puniſhment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he cauſed to be intimated to him by the conſtable, but alſo ſoftened, as much as poſſible, the inconvenience of his impriſonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Baſtile for his table, diſcharged him of the expence of the officers and ſoldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my repreſentations that a greater number was uſeleſs. At firſt, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terraſſes, but afterwards he was indulged in all his deſires; and at length wholly † diſcharged from his confinement. He had been ſo little accuſtomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he ſaid, it ſignified nothing, unleſs he gave him his liberty likewiſe.

THOSE who praiſe alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to juſtify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the ſervices his majeſty might expect from the

great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by ſuppoſing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conſpiracy here ſpoken of, we may ſtill believe that this cataſtrophe had not happened, if the conſpirators had been proſecuted with more ſeverity: in this caſe it muſt be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Roſny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author ſays, four lines higher, of thoſe who boldly concealed themſelves among the crowd, ſufficiently ſhews, that the ſpirit of revolt was not extinguiſhed by the death of its head.

† In the beginning of October. "It was not, ſays le Septennaire, "without having firſt made an open confeſſion to meſſieurs the chancellor, de Sillery, and Roſny."

count

count of Auvergne, in diſcovering to him the plots of the Spaniſh party againſt France, made it neceſſary to pardon him for his own intereſt. For my own part, I am too candid not to confeſs, that on this occaſion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his paſſion for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, ſiſter to the count of Auvergne; which was the ſole cauſe of the indulgence he ſhewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the ſubject, being perſuaded, that all the arguments I could uſe at the time would have no force againſt the prayers and tears of a miſtreſs; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpoſe to ſhew him his error. It was not till after the count of Auvergne had, by new inſtances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed againſt him as a criminal, that I juſt hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himſelf.

One day, when the king and I were alone, the converſation turned upon this ſubject; and Henry, after viewing me ſilently for ſome time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly ſurprized at my not aſking him his reaſons for preſerving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myſelf, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the moſt probable, but that I never choſe to explain myſelf to his majeſty, for fear of offending him. Henry anſwered immediately, with his uſual vivacity, that he could eaſily gueſs, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had ſhewn the priſoner, regarded the marchioneſs of Verneuil; and aſſured me, that that alone had been but ſufficient to have commuted his puniſhment into a perpetual impriſonment; but that he was abſolutely ignorant of the ſecond, to which I ſuppoſed his deliverance had been owing, and preſſed me repeat-

edly to tell him what it was. I confeſſed to him, that it had been always my opinion that his majeſty would not inflict a ſhameful death upon a man who would be always conſidered as the uncle of his children, in caſe he ſhould have any by the marchioneſs of Verneuil. Henry ſwore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections ſo far, although that conſideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he inſiſted upon my gueſſing, in my turn, the true reaſon that had induced him to ſet Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, the intreaties of the conſtable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themſelves at his feet, had not had ſo great a ſhare in that reſolution as I imagined, they having contented themſelves with aſking only the life of the priſoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promiſes he made him, and the air of ſincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had paſſed between himſelf and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many aſſurances of a ſincere repentance, and proteſtations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promiſed him, with the moſt ſacred oaths, if he would reſtore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the moſt ſecret reſolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accompliſh which, he had only to reſume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his ſide would be only feigned: but that this diſſimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the puniſhment of a traitor, it was neceſſary that his majeſty ſhould not reveal to any of his miniſters what he then ſaid, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he ſhould receive from thence.

THE king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himſelf to believe the promiſes Auvergne made him, or ſuppoſe that he could fall ſo low, as to take up the trade of a ſpy, and become a double traitor; but that after the count had aſſured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promiſes, and make uſe of him to procure ſuch intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promiſed Auvergne ſecrecy, and the other condition he had demanded.

THE concluſion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his paſſion for his miſtreſs: this was the faſcination that cloſed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne, and, after having prevailed upon him to ſpare his life, ſnatched from him likewiſe the grant of his liberty, and that upon ſo ſlight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word; but by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced a ſecond time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

IT muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that he was ingenious, ſubtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act: but, nor to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous paſſions, he had in his heart ſuch a fund of malice and perfidiouſneſs, that it was eaſy to ſee he would reſume his former diſpoſitions; but he reſumed them with ſo much addreſs, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himſelf ſecure. He often conferred with his majeſty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him,

the better to play his part; but all he ſaid might be reduced to matters of little conſequence; while, to the court of Spain, he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that paſſed in France. I ſhall return to him again in another place.

THE prince of Joinville *, to whom Henry likewiſe extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimſical, and more unſteady; he had engaged himſelf with bad company, among whom, to be in the faſhion, and to appear a man of conſequence, it was neceſſary that he ſhould have correſpondences without the kingdom; this was ſufficient to ruin him entirely. His majeſty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté, for the king of Spain, and one of his miniſters, he ordered him to be arreſted: as ſoon as he found himſelf in cuſtody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confeſſion, provided it was to the king in perſon, and that I ſhould be preſent. I had left Paris in the evening, to viſit my new acquiſition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of ſome buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at preſent. I was juſt arrived, and preparing to ſit down to ſupper, when I heard his majeſty's poſtilion blow his horn, and immediately ſuſpected my ſtay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himſelf any farther. Believing the buſineſs to be of the utmoſt importance, I ſet out ſo early the next morning, that I only ſaw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced

† Claude de Lorraine, fourth ſon to Henry duke of Guiſe, who was killed at Blois; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuſe, and died in 1657.

youth,

youth, who was drawn into errors by his raſhneſs and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confeſſed all he was deſired to do. The king, entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deſerved; he ſent for his mother, the ducheſs of Guiſe, and the duke, his brother, and taking them into his cloſet, "Here, ſaid he, is the prodigal ſon "himſelf. I ſhall uſe him like a child, and pardon "him for yours and monſieur de Roſny's ſake, "who has intreated for him; but I do it upon "condition that you will all three reprove him "ſeverely; and that you, nephew," added he, "turning to the duke of Guiſe, "will anſwer for "his conduct for the future: I give him to your "care, make him wiſe, if it be poſſible."

THIS change was not ſo eaſy a thing to effect on a young man of lively paſſions, incapable of inſtruction, and whoſe diſpoſition had already taken its bent: he was ſuffered to remain in priſon for ſome months, where at firſt he was obſtinately ſullen, then inſolent and furious, and at laſt, through mere wearineſs, promiſed to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king conſented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the caſtle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleaſed with this place than his priſon, and repreſented to the king, that he could not reſide in a caſtle which was not furniſhed. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falſhood: having often hunted near that caſtle, and Chevreuſe, which is but a ſmall diſtance from it, the keeper of thoſe two houſes, had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the ducheſs of Guiſe, that Dampierre was as well furniſhed as Chevreuſe. This behaviour of Joinville's ſo incenſed the king againſt him, that he reproached me for the too great intereſt I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myſelf leſs with them for the future. And now his majeſty,

majeſty, inſtead of revoking his ſentence, declared that the priſoner ſhould be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promiſed to make a fuller confeſſion than he had yet done; but being, as he ſaid, apprehenſive that his majeſty was ſtill angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the perſon to whom he ſpoke.

The duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his eſtates, as he had promiſed the king; therefore, after Biron was arreſted, his majeſty judged it neceſſary to write to him, to ſee if upon this occaſion he would not give ſome proof of his connexion with the priſoner: he informed him, that marechal Biroon had been convicted of conſpiring againſt the ſtate; and that when he came to court he would ſhew him the proofs of his treaſon, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; ſatisfying himſelf with thus inſinuating that he expected the performance of his promiſe, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon eaſily comprehended the deſign of this letter, and anſwered it no otherwiſe, than by ſending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majeſty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had eſcaped. By this perſon he ſent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided ſaying any thing from which the leaſt advantage could be taken, either becauſe he had already learnt that his aſſociate was ſeized, or that his imagination ſuggeſted to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to aſſume. He told me, that never had any one's aſtoniſhment equalled his, when he learned that the ſtate and the king's perſon had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readineſs he ſhewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's ſervice called him, would, he hoped, convince his majeſty, that he ſhould never have the like reaſon to be apprehenſive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might

obey

obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms ſuch as theſe: he could not, however, hinder himſelf from hinting ſomething in favour of the accuſed, but in a manner ſo general as could not hurt him. After expreſſing his wiſhes, that this event might not give his majeſty any diſturbance, he added theſe words, "nor alter the na-"tural ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition."

THE king, when I ſhewed him this letter, thought he might make uſe of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durſt not ſend him an abſolute command to come, leſt by a refuſal he ſhould lay him under the neceſſity of puniſhing him for his diſobedience by the force of arms, which he neither choſe, nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that ſince Bouillon aſked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I ſhould reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly uacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to ſtrengthen his reſolution of coming to his majeſty, either to juſtify his innocence, or, by confeſſing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I ſhould aſſure him, that I would give him my word, or if neceſſary become his ſurety, that ſo far from having any thing to fear, he ſhould be received by the king with open arms. Henry, knowing my delicacy on theſe occaſions, prevented my ſcruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon ſhould be treated in whatever manner I promiſed him; and, not ſatisfied with this verbal aſſurance, he gave me a writing conceived in theſe terms: "I promiſe to "M. de Roſny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes "to court upon his letters, and the promiſes he ſhall "make him, I will obſerve them all faithfully, or "give the duke free leave to retire wherever he "pleaſes; and neither in his journey to or from the "court ſhall he receive any diſturbance; for all "which I engage my faith and royal word to the

"ſaid

" ſaid ſieur de Roſny. Given at Paris, June 24, " 1602."

I WROTE to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majeſty entered into with me concerning him, preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and ſettle for ſome time at court. This letter Bouillon received almoſt at the ſame time with the verbal anſwer the king ſent him by his deputy, and took occaſion, from his majeſty's not having himſelf preſſed him to come, to tell me in anſwer, that the advice I gave him being inconſiſtent with the king's orders, he could not govern himſelf by it, whatever inclination he might have to do ſo; and that he would content himſelf with ſending to court, as his majeſty required, a perſon who ſhould give as ſatisfactory an account of his conduct, as he himſelf could do, and ought to be equally depended upon. This perſon was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the ſame time that I received Bouillon's anſwer to my letter, and whoſe expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, becauſe, in appearance, he came by his majeſty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, inſtead of coming himſelf, removed ſtill farther from court, and went to Caſtres.

I AM not ſurpriſed that my arguments had on this occaſion ſo little weight with him, ſince he regarded me as his enemy, and did not ſcruple to call me ſo in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himſelf in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more ſurprized at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majeſty. As ſoon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourſe to diſſimulation with him, he ſuppoſed it eaſy enough to impoſe upon his majeſty and his council without riſking

riſking any danger; for this purpoſe, all that was neceſſary was, to anſwer, in * appearance, always with great ſubmiſſion, without taking any of thoſe meaſures which they durſt not formally preſcribe to him. This artifice ſucceeded ſo well, that he made uſe of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modeſt or reſpectful terms, than the letter, he wrote on this ſubject to Du-Maurier; and which, after his majeſty had peruſed it, was given to me, to be communicated to the chancellor and the duke d'Epernon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king ſtrongly intereſted himſelf in it, and had a conference with Conſtant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, which laſted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

THE game which upon this occaſion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was ſtill more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more eſpecially England and Scotland, whoſe ambaſſadors were ſtill at Paris, congratulated his majeſty, upon his having ſo happily cruſhed this dangerous conſpiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event: unleſs fear was their motive, it is not eaſy to gueſs what could oblige them to have recourſe to ſo groſs an artifice. Henry was more ſincere with them; he ſignified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly as if it had been poſſible to have perſuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permiſſion, to act in concert with Biron and the other conſpirators.

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroi's Memoire d'Eſtat, p. 158, & ſeq. See likewiſe the reaſons which the hiſtorians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accuſation of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refuſing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to caſtres. Liv. v. p. 222, & ſeq.

THE king, ſome days after the execution of marechal Biron, coming to the arſenal, I had a converſation with that prince that well deſerves to be related: "You ſee," ſaid he to me, after making ſome reflections, as uſual, upon the ingratitude of meſſieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the moſt conſiderable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whoſe names he mentioned, "you ſee that thoſe on whom I have beſtowed the greateſt favours, are the ſame perſons "by whoſe ambition and caprice I have ſuffered the "moſt." He then obſerved to me, that theſe ſix men had, at different times, received larger ſums from him, than the five kings his predeceſſors, except Henry III. who had been accuſed of ſuch great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to ſilence thoſe who always unreaſonably enumerated the ſervices of theſe ſix gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him ſince they had entered into his ſervice; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but thoſe preſents which his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not ſuch poſſeſſions as they had acquired by his aſſiſtance, and enjoyed through his protection; ſuch, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having firſt procured, and then ſecured him the poſſeſſion of it, as has been ſeen, on an occaſion ſufficiently perplexing.

THE king, whoſe ſole view in entering upon this ſubject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this diſcourſe, which might have ſome relation to the preſent ſtate of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a leſſon, being too well perſuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occaſion for it; but that having ſeriouſly reflected upon the manner in which it was neceſſary he ſhould behave to me, that he might not expoſe himſelf to the mortification of ſeeing the confidence he had in me leſſened,

leſſened, he thought prudence required that he ſhould take two precautions, with reſpect to me, in the rewards my ſervices and family deſerved from him: "One of theſe precautions, ſaid the king, has a reference to the world, the other to myſelf: firſt, that theſe rewards ſhould neither ſucceed each other ſo rapidly, nor in themſelves be ſo exceſſive, as to render you the object of public hatred, always ready to break out againſt firſt miniſters: and the ſecond, that theſe eſtates and theſe honours ſhould be of ſuch a nature, as, if it ſhould happen that through religion, or any other motive, you ſhould be capable of violating your duty, they may not put you into a condition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor himſelf, or after his death, of diſturbing the tranquillity of his ſucceſſor, or of putting the ſtate in danger: in one word," ſaid this prince, after giving me to underſtand, that as he ſpoke without any diſguiſe, he would permit me to tell him my ſentiments freely likewiſe, "I would take from myſelf the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion againſt you, that my friendſhip for you may continue unalterable. I daily experience ſo many inſtances of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contrary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be diſtruſtful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put you in poſſeſſion of great cities and ſtrong fortreſſes, which, in the high credit you are in, and the great abilities you are maſter of, might make you independent of me, and enable you, whenever you pleaſed, to throw the kingdom into confuſion. I cannot do more for you than ought to be done for a ſervant, however faithful he may be, by a prince who has his honour, his reputation, and the intereſt of his people at heart."

HENRY, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my

my ſalaries and penſions, which were but ſufficient to anſwer the expences of my table and houſe, an extraordinary gratuity of ſixty thouſand livres a year; that by uniting this ſum to my own eſtate, I might purchaſe more lands, build upon them, furniſh and embelliſh my new houſes, and more advantageouſly ſettle my children; telling me graciouſly, that he ſtill reſerved to himſelf to give me other proofs of his friendſhip and liberality: "And this, "purſued he, I ſhall do with the more willingneſs, "as I am aſſured you will not ſquander theſe ſums "fooliſhly on entertainments, dogs, horſes, birds, "and miſtreſſes."

DURING this long diſcourſe of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me liſten to him in ſilence; the reflections it occaſioned left me ſtill more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he repoſed in me, than diſcontented with a caution which many others in my ſituation would have thought exceſſive. The king having commanded me to be very ſincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an abſolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majeſty, nor his ſucceſſors, nor the ſtate, ſhould ever have any cauſe for thoſe apprehenſions of me which his wiſdom had ſuggeſted, yet I myſelf did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himſelf up blindly to one perſon, whatever ſervices he may have received from him, ſince it is next to impoſſible that any one ſhould be able to anſwer for the wiſdom and juſtneſs of his counſels for the future; therefore, inſtead of thinking myſelf injured, I found cauſe, in all his majeſty had ſaid, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodneſs, ſince whatever bounds he ſhould preſcribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my ſervices.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant inſinuations

ſinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majeſty, had ſome ſhare in thoſe fears he expreſſed of me, I ſeized this opportunity to explain myſelf on an article, which from this moment I foreſaw I ſhould be under a neceſſity of returning to more than once. I begged his majeſty would permit me to repreſent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poiſonous reports of informers, without having firſt had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myſelf. I aſſured him, that he would find me ſincere enough to confeſs my faults, which alone deſerved that he ſhould treat me in this manner; and that he ſhould be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at moſt amount to a failing, which I would not ſcruple to confeſs that inſtant, and for which I had ſome occaſion for his indulgence; and this was, that, through impatience of any obſtacle or delay in any reſolution that I judged neceſſary to be taken, ſome words of complaint or anger might eſcape me againſt the too eaſy diſpoſition of his majeſty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be eaſily perceived in the words themſelves which ſerved for a foundation for the calumny.

WHAT I then ſaid to the king, I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modeſty, which may hold the place of juſtification; I am conſcious I have no occaſion for it, but becauſe that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have nevertheleſs, been more than once obliged to clear myſelf to the prince whom I ſerved: if this confeſſion does not hinder them from denying me that juſtice I have merited, it will not make them judge leſs favourably of Henry if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing againſt which it is ſo difficult to defend one's ſelf, as the ſecret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might

might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince who could collect a thouſand examples of treachery, diſloyalty, and diſobedience to himſelf, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the ſentiments which Henry entertained for me, we muſt not conſider him in thoſe moments which the remembrance of ſo many inſtances of ingratitude, awakened by the moſt artful impoſtures, opened his heart in ſpite of him to diſtruſt and ſuſpicion; but when recovered from thoſe impreſſions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the ſincereſt proofs of his tenderneſs and eſteem. The world therefore may judge as it pleaſes of thoſe little diſgraces which I have been obliged to ſuſtain during the courſe of what will be called my glory and proſperity, and which probably any other might have ſuppreſſed, for the honour of having it ſaid, that he directed as he pleaſed the inclinations of his maſter; on this ſubject I ſhall uſe neither diſguiſe nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and inſtruction is my end.

THE duke of Luxembourgh having had a cauſe brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the aſſurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to iſſue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and ſettled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be conſtrained to deliver up theſe, which they generally kept till their demands were ſatisfied †. The neceſſity of putting a curb to the avarice of theſe people had always appeared ſo ſtrong, that the States had already given the ſame orders, but to no purpoſe. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them,

† Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

but

but the lawyers, inſtead of ſubmitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public regiſter the enſigns of their office, which produced a total ceſſation of law proceedings. There was almoſt a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly amongſt pragmatical coxcombs and badauds *, a ſet of wretches with which the town is crouded, who, taking upon them to be wiſer than the king, the peers, and the ſtates of the kingdom, decided againſt them in favour of the advocates †, and found ſome abettors, even at court, who, with ſo much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itſelf and eaſily remedied, that the king was ſtunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the conſequence.

WHILE this affair was yet in agitation, his majeſty being one day in his cloſet converſing with ſome of the courtiers, and relating the continual ſolicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not ſurpriſed at it," ſaid Sigogne, raiſing his voice and aſſuming the air of one in a violent paſſion; "theſe men make it plainly appear that they know not how to employ their time, ſince they diſturb themſelves ſo much about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one would think the ſtate, without theſe bawlers, would be ruined; as if the kingdom under Charlemagne, and ſo many other great kings, during whoſe reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were heard of, was not in as flouriſhing a condition as it is at preſent, when we are devoured by theſe vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the

* Such as are ſtiled cockneys at London.

† Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. ſeems in like manner, to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for all this, every good man muſt be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the ſequel of theſe Memoirs, he propoſes the means of conſiderably diminiſhing the number of proceſſes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly uſed for buſineſs, to remedy the abuſes of which he complains.

eſtabliſhment

eſtabliſhment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the regiſter of the chancery, of which the firſt paper is intitled, "A permiſſion to "plead cauſes by an advocate;" and perceiving that he was liſtened to with pleaſure, he added, that this ſcience was eſtabliſhed to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the deſtruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not, ſaid he, any artiſt, "or even any ſimple labourer, that is not of "more uſe to the community, than this ſwarm of "men, who enrich themſelves by our follies, and "the artifices they have invented to ſtifle truth, "throw down all right, and darken reaſon. If we "are ſo blind," continued he with a vivacity truly diverting, "that we will not, and ſo unhappy that "we cannot do without them, nothing remains to "be done but to command them to reſume the ex-"erciſe of their employment within eight days at "fartheſt, upon the conditions preſcribed by the "court, on pain of being obliged to return to the "ſhop or the plough which they have quitted, or elſe "to ſerve the ſtate in Flanders with a muſquet upon "their ſhoulders. I'll anſwer for it, if this method "be taken with them, we ſhall ſoon ſee them run "with eagerneſs to reſume theſe magnificent en-"ſigns, like vermin towards a heap of wheat."

THERE was not one in the company who could not forbear ſmiling at this lively ſally of Sigogne's, and the king was among the firſt, and confeſſed that his arguments were very convincing; but whether it was that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the ſolicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by

* The medium made uſe of by the king's people, who, underhand, favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king ſhould ſend new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to reſume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrets of parliament, and the ordinances of the ſtates. But, as theſe letters did, at the ſame time, allow them to make ſuch remonſtrances as they ſhould think reaſonable, with regard to the exerciſe of their ſeveral employments, and as they were particularly aſſured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to ſubmit thereto. De Thou, liv. cxxviii. Sept. an. 1602.

the

the fears of the conſequences that might attend his joining this new diſorder to thoſe troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reſerved to himſelf the making one day ſuch a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law ſhould be comprehended in it, he conſented that the arret ſhould, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous buſineſs terminated; for reflections upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: ſo the world was left to think that it was I who made him ſpeak them †.

THIS naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-ſuit commenced this year by the third eſtate of Dauphiné againſt the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were ſettled and aſſized in this province: myſelf, together with thirteen other commiſſioners, choſen amongſt perſons of the higheſt diſtinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it, but it was ſix years before it could be decided; the animoſity between the parties concerned was ſo great, that there was a

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of hiſtory which I ſhall ſet down here. Henry one time hunting on the ſide of Groſbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himſelf to Creteil, which is a league on the other ſide of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if ſhe had any thing for him to eat? To which ſhe anſwered no, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then aſked her, For whom is this roaſt-meat I ſee at the fire? For ſome gentlemen, replies ſhe, that are above, and whom I take to be ſolicitors. The king ſent, in a civil manner, to aſk them to let him have a piece of their roaſt-meat, or to give him leave to ſit at one end of their table, upon paying for it; both which they refuſed him. Upon this, Henry ſent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to ſeize theſe ſolicitors, and carry them away to Groſbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaiſance to gentlemen another time. "This the ſaid ſieur Vitry ſaw "punctually and ſpeedily performed, ſays the author, notwithſtanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonſtrances of the "lawyers."

neceſſity for ſending a ſecond time to take information upon the ſpot. I took a more ſpeedy method to bring a man named Jouſſeaume, to juſtice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I cauſed him to be ſeized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too ſeverely puniſhed. The king again ſhewed himſelf ſolicitous for the intereſt of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treaſurers-general of Burgundy; ſome draughts had been made on them for the charges of garriſons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad deſign. I adviſed his majeſty to ſend thither a commiſſary on whoſe probity he could depend; he did ſo, and he began by ſuſpending thoſe men from their employments, and himſelf performed the duties of treaſurer. The money that was expended upon this occaſion was raiſed out of the ſalaries of theſe receivers and treaſurers, "That I, ſaid Henry, "may not pay the penalty for the fault they have "committed againſt my ſervice and their duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and ſilver coin, I found a method leſs tedious and ſevere than puniſhments and confiſcations, which was only to raiſe their value ‡, there being no reaſon why they ſhould

‡ The crown called ecud'or au ſoleil, which was valued at ſixty ſols tournois, was raiſed to ſixty-five; that called écu piſtole of fifty-eight ſols, to ſixty-two, and ſo of the other gold ſpecies; the ſilver franc of twenty ſols was raiſed one ſol and four deniers, and the reſt in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance paſſed, about the raiſing the value of money, and the re-eſtabliſhing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, ſince the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both theſe regulations of the duke of Sully's tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, ſays, p. 351. 372, et ſeq. that, whatever cogent reaſons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itſelf, becauſe the gold and ſilver

be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would paſs for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the ſame time, I ſettled, over all the

ſilver ſpecies were afterwards raiſed as much in ſeven years alone, as they had been during the ſpace of ſeventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, becauſe that goods and merchandiſe were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this laſt writer ſeems, to me, to be grounded upon ſtrong reaſons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of thoſe who had their revenues in ſilver, thoſe who improved their money in the public funds and otherwiſe, and thoſe who ſold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 ſecured the effects of a conſiderable number of the natives; and beſides, if there had been any confuſion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cauſe of it, but only the miſerable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected theſe two regulations here ſpoken of, to prevent theſe diſorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign ſpecies that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; ſecondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and laſtly, the exportation of the gold and ſilver coin to our neighbours. It was equally eaſy to have made him ſenſible, that his complaints, in all theſe reſpects, ſignified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already ſhewn, a little higher, in what ſenſe it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourſe, would be more proper to heighten than leſſen it.

As to the raiſing of the price of goods, the ſame augmentation could not but make way for it ſtill more; and the reaſon for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear, to every one, very inſufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a neceſſary conſequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and ſilver in Europe, ſince the diſcovery of America. In order to prevent it, we muſt have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whoſe mines furniſh us now with theſe metals, but alſo with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A ſtate that ſhould be conducted by this principle, would, among the other ſtates of Europe, make the ſame figure, as the republic of Lacedemon did with reſpect to the reſt of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great conſequence, is, that all the merchandiſe and goods, and generally whatever conſtitutes a part of commerce, ſhould riſe at the ſame time, and in the ſame proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raiſing the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, thoſe people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which ſeems to have been the chief

kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres, inſtead of crowns, as had been till then the practice: by ſome this may be thought an uſeleſs refinement, ſince all

view of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in ſome meaſure, prevent it, in annihilating or diminiſhing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and, apparently, this was the only reaſon that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and ſtill more as to commerce, did not allow him to ſee that he deſtroyed a ſlight corruption by one a great deal more conſiderable, nor ſuffer him to go up to the ſource of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and conſequently the greateſt quantity of gold and ſilver, will remain in that nation which ſhall have made all others to depend moſt upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the ballance of trade ſhall be in favour of ſome one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and ſilver, is neither reaſonable, nor practicable. At preſent, when we begin to ſee a little more clearly into theſe matters, there is no one but agrees, that all theſe regulations, and this whole train of reaſoning, did not reach the end propoſed. Though the exigency of circumſtances, which is almoſt endleſs, does not permit either the providing againſt, or the ſubjecting every thing to a ſingle rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very ſimple maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and theſe are, to avoid, with the greateſt care imaginable, meddling with the coin, and endeavour, continually, to render the French as laborious, induſtrious, and frugal as poſſible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domeſtic and foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the ſhutting up of private purſes, the embarraſſment and diſadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of eſtates: all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by ſuch proceedings, to put the caſe impartially, always loſes conſiderably more thereby than he gains; beſides, that the inſolvency of his ſubjects is an evil which he always ſhares with them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his expences increaſe with the coin, ſo as not to be diminiſhed even when that does.

The other principle has ſtill leſs need of proof. It ſeems, that nature has reſerved to France, the ſovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her ſituation, and the goodneſs of her ſoil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourſe to her for all thoſe things that ſupply the firſt and eſſential neceſſaries of life: ſhe has no more to do than to ſhare, at leaſt equally with them, in the commerce of all thoſe things that ſerve but for mere conveniency, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the conſumption of the latter ſhould exceed the produce of the former, we ſhall complain unjuſtly of our condition; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and ſilver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to theſe foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect ceaſe, without removing the cauſe; but to ſet a Frenchman to commerce that is carried

the ways of reckoning muſt come to the ſame thing at laſt: I am, however, of opinion, experience having ſhewn me, that the cuſtom of talking always of

ried on by ſea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as poſſible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but ſuperfluities, and, on the other hand, to increaſe his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the intereſt of trade. Beſides Le Blanc and Matthieu, conſult on the ſubject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Perefixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the hiſtory of theſe regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reaſonings of theſe writers on this whole matter are but little ſatisfactory: we might well ſay of them what the duke of Sully ſaid to the parliament of Paris, "They "are maſters of arts which none of them know any thing of." Mem. pour l'hiſt. de France.

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will ſupply that part from the ſame Memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & ſeq. though this writer ſeems not even to underſtand the ſtate of the queſtion, and ſpeaks not very favourably of the king and his miniſters. "At that time," ſays he, ſpeaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this ſubject in 1609, "there was brought upon the carpet, and propoſed "to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to di-"miniſh and alter, that is, to raiſe its value, and by the ſame means "to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this propoſal: the "king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the "world, even at his own miniſters, and their remonſtrances, as he did "at the firſt preſident of the mint (William Le-Clerc) who being "diſconcerted in his ſpeech, having been twice interrupted by his "majeſty's breaking into a fit of laughter, which made him ſtop ſhort "in the middle thereof; and upon his majeſty's obſerving it, he ſays "to him, Go on, Mr. preſident, for I am not laughing at you, but "at my couſin, the count of Soiſſons, who is near me, and tells me "that he ſmells a ſhoulder of mutton. This ſecond ſtroke ſtruck him "quite dumb. Upon which, the king falling into a fit of laughter, "went away and left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of "the principal perſons that had communicated this project of the "edict of the king, preſſed much for its being put in execution. The "king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, ſeeing himſelf "continually teaſed by this rude contractor, at length aſked him "what countryman he was; to which he anſwered, I am a native of "Perigord. *Ventreſaintgris*, replies the king, I always thought ſo; "for in that country they are all falſe coiners.---On Saturday, "the 5th of September, the court being met on the edit de monies, "rejected it entirely; *Nec debemus, nec poſſumus*, we neither ought nor "can, concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to "the mint were ſent for; among whom one of the reformed religion, "called Bizeul, ſpoke his ſentiments very freely, for which he was "highly commended; and M. le Premier preſident ſaid, *Non in "parabolis iſte locutus eſt nobis.* It muſt be obſerved, that as ſoon as

crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raiſed all that was bought or ſold to more than its real value.

THE intereſt of commerce was ſtill more concerned in the news the king received from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, that thoſe who had been employed to ſeek for mines, had diſcovered a great number of † gold and ſilver ones. This report was ſpread at court with ſo many appearances of probability, that every one repreſenting to himſelf the direction of this new labour as a ſource of immenſe riches, there was not one who did not uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monſieur Le Grand obtained the office of ſuperintendant, and Beringhen that of comptroller general. This gave occaſion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon whoſe

" the people belonging to the coinage had entered the chamber, the " firſt preſident ſaid to them, Sit down and be covered, and you ſhall " ſpeak preſently. On Tueſday the 8th, in the evening, M. de " Sully went to ſee the firſt preſident, in order to prevail on him to " perſuade the court to paſs the edicts; but in this he found him in- " flexible: and as the preſident repreſented to him the injuſtice of it, " M. de Sully anſwered, The king ought not to look upon that as " unjuſt which ſuits his affairs.---On Tueſday the 15th of September, " The king ſent his letters patent to the court, to prolong the parlia- " ment for eight days, during which time they were ordered to ſet " about the regiſtering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner " revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of " themſelves."

† Le Septennaire mentions the places where theſe mines of all ſorts were diſcovered: " In the Pyrennees mines of talc and copper, " together with ſome of gold and ſilver; in the mountains of Foix, " mines of jet and precious ſtones, and even carbuncles, though but " few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines of " lead and tin; in thoſe of Carcaſſonne, mines of ſilver; in thoſe of " Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyonnois near the village Saint- " Martin, of gold and ſilver; in Normandy, ſilver and very good " tin; at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and " Picardy, mines of marcaſite of gold and ſilver. Some of theſe " mines, but eſpecially thoſe of gold and ſilver, are very difficult " and troubleſome to work, and at the ſame time of ſo little profit, " that M. De Thou had reaſon for diſſuading them from meddling " with them ever ſince that time." liv. cxxix.

jeſts

jeſts were equally ſatirical and agreeable, to ſay, "that they could not have made a fitter choice "of a man for a direction of the mines, than one "who was himſelf a compoſition of mines. †" The improvement and working of ſilk, of which I ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was publiſhed for the planting of mulberry trees.

AMONG all theſe different edicts, none made ſo much noiſe as that againſt duels ‡. His majeſty went ſo far as to make death the puniſhment of thoſe who diſobeyed; in which, I confeſs, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and ſavage abuſe, to fear the accuſation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foreſaw, that an exceſs of ſeverity in the means would be the principal obſtacle of the execution. When it becomes neceſſary to declare the will of the ſovereign to the ſubject, it is of the utmoſt importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of ſuch a nature that the fear of death may prevent diſobedience; for otherwiſe thoſe extremities are, in my opinion, leſs efficacious than degradation or diſgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be ſeriouſly attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly perſons of quality, and even of the greateſt diſtinction, who are guilty of it; for whom ſolicitations are ſo much the more ardent and ſucceſsful, as the puniſhment with which

† The jeſt lies in the word *mines*, which in French ſignifies grimace and affectation.

‡ This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treaſon or *lexe majeſte*, was paſſed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very ſevere one: this is the edict which firſt gave the conſtables and marechals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament reſtricted, in the regiſtring, to thoſe rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes as debts, aſſaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

they are threatened is great and infamous: it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are ſufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that thoſe puniſhments are moſt regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored.

BESIDES thoſe embaſſies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a ſolemn deputation from the thirteen Swiſs Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance *, which had been the occaſion of marechal Biron's journey to thoſe Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able on account of my other employments, to attend this buſineſs conſtantly, I ſatisfied myſelf with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that paſſed at their meetings. The only difficulty I ſtarted, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, beſides the forty thouſand crowns to which their uſual penſion was raiſed: I could have wiſhed that they had deducted certain ſums paid on their account, during the campaign in Savoy, and on ſome other occaſions: as for the reſt, theſe gentlemen thought good chear, and deep drinking with them, the moſt eſſential parts of their reception. The king preſented them with gold chains and medals, and ſent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holineſs, loaded with preſents: he gave his conſent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Griſons againſt Spain.

THE great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year kept the crown of France in continual atten-

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were obſerved on this occaſion, in le Septennaire, ann. 1602. Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

tion

tion to their motions, and were the cauſe that Henry, who held it for an inconteſtable truth, that it was by the military power alone a ſtate could be rendered flouriſhing, not only rejected the propoſal I made him to diſband part of his troops, particularly to leſſen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but alſo that he took a reſolution to make a new levy of ſix thouſand Swiſs; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more ſolicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the conſtable for having ſolicited with great earneſtneſs the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at laſt he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the moſt conſiderable of all his majeſty made this year, except that into the provinces.

HENRY took his route through Verneuil † towards the latter end of the month of Auguſt, leaving his queen in the ſame condition ſhe was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for ſhe lay in of Madame her eldeſt daughter, in November ‡. He recommended to me with great earneſtneſs to be aſſiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of his journey; as likewiſe to procure her every kind of diverſion that might alleviate her concern during the firſt days of his abſence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the ſtate of her health, and the manner in which ſhe paſſed her time: and it may be truly ſaid, that he never omitted giving her every inſtance of reſpect and tenderneſs that was able to make her forget the uneaſineſs ſhe received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the ſon he had by

† Verneuil, near Senlis, a caſtle which he had given to his miſtreſs, mademoiſelle d'Entragues, and from which ſhe took the title of marchioneſs of Verneuil.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter of France, was born on the 22d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain, in 1615.

the marchioneſs de Verneuil §, which was among the number of thoſe things that gave the greateſt offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occaſioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to ſee his maſons work; the remedy he made uſe of was, to go to the chace next day. As ſoon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in ſuch a ſituation as he wiſhed, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the preſident Jeannin, whom he expected to have occaſion for.

It was from this place that his majeſty was a witneſs of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemiſh, without having any inclination to diſarm, whatever aſſurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had ſeen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they ſtill continued to be on the ſame footing as before. The ſiege of Oſtend was not carried on with ſo much vigour by the beſiegers, as it was ſuſtained by the beſieged. Prince Maurice of Naſſau, after continuing ſome time at Berg, uncertain of what he ſhould next undertake, went on the 19th of September to inveſt Grave, and entrenched himſelf, not doubting but he ſhould receive ſome oppoſition in this enterprize. Accordingly the admiral of Arragon, in the abſence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by ſickneſs at Bruſſels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the beſiegers, and to ſuccour the place; but he did not ſucceed; and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spaniſh companies mutinied, and, after ſeparating from the main body of his army, poſſeſſed themſelves of Hoeſtrate and Dele. He took ſuch wrong methods

§ Henry de Bourbon, duke de Verneuil: he was at firſt biſhop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Seguier.

to

to engage them to return, that they came to a reſolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which theſe Spaniards reſtored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to except of very ſtrange conditions from them †.

THE council of Spain, through a deſire of carrying on the war, reſolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A ſquadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſary proviſions, ſailed for this purpoſe out of the Spaniſh ports, to cruiſe in the channel: the command of this ſquadron was given to Frederic Spinola, couſin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the ſiege of Oſtend; he flattered himſelf that he ſhould become maſter of the ſea, and complete the ruin of the Flemiſh. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve veſſels, two of them periſhed ere he had quitted the coaſts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch ſquadron, were almoſt all either taken or ſunk; the laſt that eſcaped, and in which Spinola himſelf was, happened to run a-ground within view of Calais, but ſo diſabled by the cannon, and in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that the ſlaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himſelf obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Bruſſels, to complain to the arch-duke of the ſea and the winds.

SPAIN made herſelf amends for theſe misfortunes by the acquiſition of the marquiſate of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes. There was not the leaſt ſhadow of a pretence for this uſurpation; this little ſtate, which is on the coaſt of Ge-

† See in the hiſtorians the particulars of all theſe expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

neva, being inconteſtably a fief of the empire; nevertheleſs, when the emperor, to preſerve, in appearance at leaſt, the right of the empire, offered to ſend commiſſioners to diſcuſs this affair upon the ſpot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain *. He uſed the ſame violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewiſe of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewiſe the ſame views upon Embden, when he undertook to ſupport againſt the inhabitants † the lord of this city, although he was avowedly a proteſtant; but in this he did not ſucceed; the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty againſt both the one and the other, and joined themſelves to the ſtates.

THE duke of Savoy ſucceeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Geneva. This expedition ended unfortunately for the aſſailants, although they had opened themſelves a paſſage into the city, by applying ſoldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which ſerved them to get clear of the patrole till they had found their way through the firſt guard; and now they thought themſelves ſecure of the city: but the citizens, deriving new ſtrength and courage from the extremity they beheld themſelves in, charged them with ſo much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of theſe Savoyards threw themſelves off the walls, to eſcape the rage of the enemies; many others were taken, and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black deſign, which was follow-

* The marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a penſion during his life.

† He was called count d'Oſt Friſe. See the origin of theſe troubles in Chron. Sept. an. 1598. and their concluſion, an. 1602.

‡ Charles de Simiane d'Albigny. De Thou, liv. 129, Septen. an. 1602. Matthieu, ibid. 544.

ed

ed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Geneva †.

The revolt of Battori from the emperor continued the war in Hungary: the duke of Nevers ‡ went thither, in expectation of ſucceeding

† The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiſs Cantons. Siri, ibid. p. 200.

‡ Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how la Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully ſpeaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking by his own example to recal the "courage of thoſe who withdrew from danger, and to induce others "to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, "the wounded, and even thoſe that were flying; but he received "there the ſhot of a large arqueboſe that was fired amidſt a great "number of other arms, from one of the angles of the ſaid breach, "that ſtruck him juſt on the left ſide, penetrating into the breaſt, "near the heart and lungs; but it was conducted ſo providentially, "that, neither breaking or hurting any nobler part, it gained him as "much laſting honour, as it ſhewed a great miracle in his preſervation." Let us likewiſe hear this writer concerning the death of the duke de Mercœur: "Having an inclination, ſays he, to return to "France, in order to prepare for ſome greater expedition againſt the "Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave "of the emperor: but while he was at Nuremberg he was ſeized "with a peſtilential ſpotted fever. No ſooner was the hoſt brought "him, than the moment he ſaw it, though in a languiſhing and weak "ſtate of body, yet of a vigorous and ſound mind, *having more faith than "life* (the device of the duke of Mercœur being *plus fidei quam vitæ*) "he threw himſelf out of bed, and falling proſtrate upon the ground, "adored his Saviour, uttering the moſt devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, ſayings, and ſentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and ſerves ſufficiently to form a high elogium of his character: "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre "Dame at Paris, by monſieur François de Selles, coadjutor and biſhop "elect of Geneva. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the "Chriſtians did not proſper but where-ever this prince was." After the elogium of his family, the hiſtorian paſſes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the moſt temperate men in the world as to diet, ſo "as only to eat when obliged through neceſſity, and he drank almoſt "nothing but water: he was no leſs abſtemious in other temporal en"joyments; humble in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe high honours and "great favours heaven had heaped upon him, and never abuſing any "of them; for he was equally acceſſible to rich and poor; moderate "in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle aſſemblies: "ſo that what time remained for amuſement, he employed in "reading uſeful books. He had an exact ſkill in practical mathe"matics; he alſo was eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his "elegant

ing to the poſt and reputation of the duke of Mercœur; but laying ſiege to Buda after Peſt had been taken by the Chriſtians, the Turks, who on their ſide had, at length, won Alba Regalis, haſtened thither with ſuch numerous forces, that they forced them to raiſe the ſiege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Baſte, the emperial general, has been very much and very deſervedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having ſeized Biſtrith, Baſte retook this place by a capitulation, which during his abſence was violated by ſome German ſoldiers. As ſoon as he was appriſed of it at his return, he hanged up all thoſe ſoldiers, and out of his own money ſatisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were ſo greatly affected with the generoſity of this action, that they all ſubmitted to the emperor, and demanded no other ſecurity than the general's word.

BOOK XIV.

THE city of Metz had been, for ſome time, ſhaken with thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epernon, who was governor of it, and of the whole

" elegant ſentiments not only in French, but likewiſe in the Ger-
" man, Italian, and Spaniſh tongues, in which he was more than
" moderately ſkilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but
" to enforce things that were uſeful, praiſe-worthy, and virtuous."
The deſcription which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion and thoſe of his ſtation, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, form altogether a picture which may ſerve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and miſtaken zeal for religion made him undertake a conſpiracy againſt his ſovereign. Matthieu, ibid, 456, ſpeaks of him in the ſame manner.

country

country of Meſſin, had placed Sobole † and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made ſuch an ill uſe of their authority, that they were ſoon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was ſtrengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was ſuch a general outcry amongſt the citizens and country people, againſt the lieutenants, that d'Epernon was obliged to go himſelf to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refuſed to furniſh the troops with victual; and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some diſputes had alſo riſen concerning a certain Provençal priſoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and a deſire of revenge, occaſioned ſeveral other matters leſs conſiderable; and theſe heats had already proceeded ſo far as to make a revolt be apprehended.

THE duke of Epernon was ſoon convinced that the two Soboles * had not juſtice on their ſide, at leaſt, with regard to the firſt complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occaſion of a quarrel, with no other view, than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in caſe of a war or a ſiege, and this to make themſelves maſters of them. D'Epernon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their poſts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have ſome difficulty to ſupport himſelf in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, ſtrong enough to oppoſe the governor as well as the citizens.

THINGS were in this ſtate, when the king received

† Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gaſcony.

* Sobole accuſed the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to ſurrender itſelf to the king of Spain. This accuſation appeared to be falſe. Vie du duc d'Epernon. p. 217.

advice

advice what was doing at Metz: he ſent me notice that he would come to the arſenal to confer with me, and deſired that I would have a ſupper prepared for him, and ſix other perſons whom he ſhould bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great ſtore-houſes of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as uſual, to diſcourſe about the ſituation of affairs within the kingdom, with reſpect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had juſt received from Metz. Henry, without any heſitation, reſolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city ſo very lately diſmembered from the empire, ſhould unfortunately happen, in the preſent conjuncture, to ſeparate itſelf from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey abſolutely neceſſary, beſides that of taking from the duke of Epernon a citadel, which he might make uſe of to very bad purpoſes, and a conſiderable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a ſovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a ſuppoſition that he ſhould one day carry his great deſigns into execution, there would be a neceſſity for having, in this country, ſo important by its ſituation, a governor from whom he could promiſe himſelf more aſſiſtance than he could expect from d'Epernon. It was probable at leaſt that ſome favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorrain to France, and in that caſe it imported his majeſty highly to go himſelf in perſon, and procure a perfect knowledge of this ſtate, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewiſe would be of uſe to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with ſome of the princes of Germany, and of ſounding their inclinations with reſpect to the houſe of Auſtria, to know if he might expect any aſſiſtance from them in an advantageous conjuncture,

juncture, and even to attach them to himſelf, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences ſubſiſted amongſt them.

It was agreed between us, that his majeſty ſhould ſet out without loſs of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was reſolved that the queen ſhould accompany him) at a time when the two factions not having yet proceeded ſo far in their inſolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other ſhould think of nothing but of juſtifying their conduct, and ſubmitting to his determination. The king would not even ſtay till the coats of his guards, for about this time they were to be all new cloathed, were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correſpond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his ſecretaries of ſtate to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-ſur-Jouare, Dorman-ſur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-ſur-Marne, and Clermont: the court ſtopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Frezne-en-Verdunois.

Henry's arrival put an end to all diſputes, and nothing was talked of but ſubmiſſion and obedience: not but Sobole, who was ſenſible this affair would be terminated by his expulſion, had ambition and reſolution enough to maintain himſelf in the citadel in ſpite of his majeſty, and diſcloſed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the moſt prudent amongſt them repreſented to him, that, if he engaged in ſuch a deſign, he would be irretrievably ruined; ſo that, ſubmitting to the arret for his baniſhment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Meſſin. The king appointed Montigny † to be his lieutenant in

† Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was the chief ſteward of the houſhold to Henry III. governor of Berry Blois, &c. knight

this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and caſtle of Metz. Montigny, for this new poſt, quitted his government of Paris, the ſalary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being ſatisfied with all theſe changes, as may be eaſily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to ſay, he himſelf, through neceſſity, being the firſt to require the baniſhment of the two Soboles, ſo that every thing ſeemed to be done with his conſent.

I HAVE taken this detail from the letters his majeſty honoured me with during his ſtay at Metz, in which he informed me ſuccinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt ſtill longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itſelf, which he ſaid was three times larger than Orleans, and finely ſituated, but that the caſtle was not worth any thing; he likewiſe told me, that he wiſhed for my preſence in that country, that he might ſend me to viſit the frontier, and that before ſix days, he ſhould put every thing in ſuch good order, as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accompliſhed it in much leſs time, and was only detained there by an indiſpoſition, that obliged him to take ſome medicines, after which he found himſelf quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occaſioned by a cold. The ducheſs of Bar, ſiſter to his majeſty, came to Metz on the ſixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days

knight of the order of the Holy Ghoſt, camp-maſter-general of the light-horſe, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Meſſin, Toul, and Verdun, at laſt, marechal of France, and died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miſcalled by ſome John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marechal de Montigny.

after-

afterwards. The remainder of the time his majeſty ſtaid in this province, was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiſelle de Rohan, and the young duke de * Deux-Ponts; in compoſing a difference between the cardinal of Lorrain, and the prince of Brandenbourg †, concerning the biſhoprick of Straſbourg, which was accompliſhed by dividing the revenue of this biſhoprick equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretenſions; in reſtoring tranquility to that city, and in being ſerviceable to all the princes who required his interpoſition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry became ſo revered in this country, that ſeveral ſovereign princes of Germany took a reſolution to come thither and pay their reſpects to him, to offer him their ſervice, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambaſſadors, the neceſſary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majeſty had determined to ſtay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Heſſe, and three or four others whoſe dominions lay neareſt to the Rhine, that came thither in perſon.

The Jeſuits, whoever ſince their baniſhment, had been uſing their utmoſt endeavours to procure their re-eſtabliſhment in France, appeared no leſs ſolicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpoſe, they made uſe of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun ‡, ſupported by La-Varenne,

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the houſe of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderſcheidt, the catholic biſhop of Straſbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorrain obtained this biſhopric of the pope; and the proteſtants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenbourgh, elected; whence a war aroſe, which continued till this year. See the hiſtorians, Baſſompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

‡ The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial, Châteiller, Broſſard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wedneſday in Paſſion

who declared himſelf their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirſted after the moſt eminent dignities in the church. D'Oſſat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and ſucceſs in their favour. The ambitious deſire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe, had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commiſſion: the obſtacles he raiſed at Rome to the marriage of the princeſs Catharine, the king's ſiſter, is one proof of it, and his ſolicitations for the Jeſuits another; for the re-eſtabliſhment of this ſociety was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the moſt eſſential part of that ſyſtem of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that purſued by the council.

D'Ossat, by printing his letters, which ‡ prove

Paſſion week to throw themſelves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admiſſion into France. Henry IV. would not ſuffer the provincial, who ſpoke for the whole order, to addreſs him kneeling. When he had done, the king anſwered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wiſher to the Jeſuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been ſaying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Eaſter Monday, and the king promiſed to recal them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me, added he, for I think you uſeful to the "public, and to my kingdom." He diſmiſſed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronol. Sept. ann. 1603. MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. ii. b. iii. p. 556.

‡ To ſupport theſe accuſations brought againſt cardinal d'Oſſat, the author quotes fourteen letters, taken out of the collection printed in 1627, eight of them to the king, and ſix to M. de Villeroi: and he principally fixes on two of the ſix laſt mentioned, of which he has given an abſtract. There are ſome errors in theſe quotations, which may be placed to the printer's account; but truth compels us to acknowledge, that there are others of more moment than mere faults of the impreſſion, which may be laid to the charge of the pretended author of the memorial from Rome; and that though the abſtract of theſe letters be conformable to the words of the text, yet it may be ſaid to be not more exact on that account, ſince one cannot help taking notice of the viſible attempt to ſuppreſs thoſe explanations and expedients which ſoften, and even ſometimes totally deſtroy the bad conſtructions

the truth of my aſſertions concerning him, ſeems not to be ſolicitous about concealing his true ſentiments

ſtructions which it has been endeavoured to put on them. I apprehend it will be neceſſary here to make ſome ſhort obſervations on each of theſe letters, as well to ſtand in the place of additional ſquiſition, more ſtrictly than hiſtorical, which I thought it incumbent on me to ſuppreſs, as to do juſtice where it is due, and to make known the real ſentiments of a man, eſteemed amongſt us as a great negotiator, and a very able politician.

The firſt of the eight letters to the king (though the author reckons only ſeven of them) is dated the 19th of February, 1600. It only contains an account given by the cardinal d'Oſſat to his majeſty, of ſome complaints made by the pope, by reaſon of the king's having created M. de la Tremouille, who was a proteſtant, a duke, and a peer of France, and of his intending to make him admiral afterwards, as he had been informed. D'Oſſat does not, in this letter, ſay any thing as being his own ſentiment, and even takes ſome pains to juſtify Henry IV. In the ſecond letter of the 25th of April, it is again the pope who inſiſts on the publication of the council of Trent, and the re-admiſſion of the Jeſuits into France, and who, at the ſame time, complains of ſome abuſes in the Gallican church to which the cardinal makes no other anſwer, but that his majeſty ſincerely labours to give his holineſs all poſſible ſatisfaction. The third of the 22d of May, the fourth of the 17th of June, and the 5th of the 30th of the ſame month, turn on the affair of the diſpenſation for the duke and ducheſs of Bar; he therein acquaints the king with the difficulties that affair meets with at Rome; he adds his own opinion, which, in truth, is not in favour of his majeſty's intentions, but nevertheleſs does not prevent his being ready to ſecond them, by all the reaſons he can think of, and his ſhewing himſelf, above all things, exceeding ſenſible of the ſhame that would redound to the houſe of France, if, as the duke of Bar ſometimes gave out, it ſhould be determined by the court of Lorraine to ſend the princeſs back to France. The ſixth letter of the 16th of November, 1601, contains nothing for which this prelate can be blamed, but his diſcovering, perhaps with too much complaiſance, to Henry IV. the deſign his holineſs had formed, on the death of queen Elizabeth, to tranſfer the crown of England to the houſe of Parma. In the 7th of the 22d of December in the ſame year, d'Oſſat alſo, poſſibly with too much zeal, ſuſtains certain rights of the pope, in the matter of elections. His ſentiments, which muſt appear to be ſingular in France, oblige me to ſet forth ſome of the terms he employs. "If the pope, ſays he, have encroached on the liberties "of the church, the kings, ſire, (I ſay this only to yourſelf, and "even in doing ſo, ſhew the great opinion I have of your generoſity "and goodneſs) have made no leſs attempts on their kingdoms and "even their churches: and if things ſhould be reduced to their ori-"ginal ſtate, as is attempted to be done on your ſide in the pope's "caſe in regard to the elections, the kings would be greater ſufferers "by it than the popes."

The firſt of theſe ſix letters, directed to M. de Villeroi, is dated the 23d

from the public; but, if he is inexcuſable for having almoſt always obſerved a conduct quite oppoſite to

23d of July 1621. Our author's exceptions to this letter are becauſe d'Oſſat therein maintains, with ſome warmth, that the proteſtants ought not to be ſuffered in the Italian cities, ceded to the king by the treaty of Savoy. The ſecond of the 23d of September, is miſdated. If the author meant to ſpeak of that of the 3d of September, he is ſo much more in the wrong, becauſe the Spaniards are handled very roughly in that letter: but he probably ſpeaks of that of the 17th of that month, for there the pretended reformed religion, and the cities of Savoy, are again brought in queſtion. The third of the 16th of December 1602, on the affairs of the ducheſs of Bar, contains this circumſtance in favour of d'Oſſat, that he therein declares the ſuſpicion he had conceived, that the duke of Lorraine might have ſome evil intentions againſt her. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the fourth of the 30th of December, in which his eminence ſeems perſuaded, that Spain appears to enter ſo ſtrongly with the pope, into the affair of the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, for no other reaſon than to cover her own deſigns with the cloak of religion. As to the fifth of the 7th, or rather the 27th of January 1603, which is one of the two the author applies himſelf to cenſure particularly, becauſe it points out, though but in general terms, the abuſes in the government of France; he is doubly to blame for concealing that d'Oſſat adds, at the ſame time, that the wiſdom of Henry IV. had already redreſſed them in part; ſince thoſe words contain the real meaning, and an explanation of the cardinal's ſentiments, and, at the ſame time, a commendation which might be made to rebound from thence on M. de Roſny. The ſixth of the 10th of February, is produced as being the moſt vehement; and, in truth, in this letter he expreſſes himſelf with more freedom, on the evils with which the kingdom is internally afflicted, on the injuſtice of the war carried on againſt Spain in Flanders, and on the advantage of uniting the two kingdoms of France and Spain in intereſt and politics, by the marriage of the dauphin and infanta; yet, when all theſe circumſtances are drawn together, and placed in the moſt unfavourable point of light, as the author has done, he ſhould, in juſtice, have remarked that d'Oſſat, in this letter, candidly ſtates every ſide of the queſtion; that he ſays, he is convinced the Spaniards diſcover a deſire for an alliance with us, only to gain time to do their own buſineſs, and to amuſe the king with a treaty, to ſurpriſe him the better afterwards; that he inveighs, perhaps, with equal force, againſt the rapaciouſneſs, ambition, arrogance, and perfidy of the council of Madrid. Certainly, it is not the proper time to ſhew this prelate's opinion, whilſt he is thus balancing the reaſons on each ſide; but when he recapitulates what he has been ſaying in this letter, which is very long, he at laſt ſpeaks in his own name: and this is the manner in which he delivers his ſentiments. "Upon the "whole, I apprehend that his holineſs ought to be undeceived, in "the wrong notions he has formed of us; that we ought, ſincerely "and faithfully, to obſerve the peace made and ſworn with the king "of Spain and the archdukes on our ſide, provided they alſo keep it "on

that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have ſuggeſted to him, he deſerves ſtill greater reproaches for having endeavoured both in his diſcourſe and in his writings, to give a bad impreſſion of the king and his miniſters. When removed from the center of buſineſs, all the informations he could obtain muſt be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of ſenſe and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this paſſage tends partly to juſtify myſelf againſt the cenſures of d'Oſſat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not ſcruple to attribute mare-

" on theirs, as they have by the pope offered to do; that this peace " ſhould ſtill be ſtrengthened by all ſorts of honourable and advan- " tageous obligations; yet that we ſhould not place more confidence " in it than reaſon warrants, nor abate our vigilance and precaution; " but that we ſhould, in all other reſpects, leave the king of Spain " and the archdukes on the footing they now ſtand with other na- " tions, not from any evil deſign or intention againſt them, but for " our own preſervation; that we ſhould not furniſh an opportunity to " thoſe who have ſhewn an inclination to turn all their forces againſt " France; and that whilſt the reſt are at war with one another, we " ſhould employ the peace and quiet God has bleſſed us with, in do- " ing what is right, improving what is good in the kingdom, and ex- " tirpating what is bad."

This diſquiſition confirms me in the opinion I have given above, of the ſentiments of the cardinal d'Oſſat; for what he ſays of the Spaniards, beſides the letters already quoted, ſee p. 51, 504, 540, 692, 705, &c. on the publication of the council of Trent, 217, 256, 354, 396, 400, 433, 466, 613, 615, and many other places; on the Jeſuits, 69, 287, 302, 303, 309, 351, & ſeq. 613, & ſeq.

Had the cardinal d'Oſſat even meant what his adverſary pretends he did, it could not be at all conſiſtent with the character of ſo prudent and cautious a negotiator, as he is allowed to have been, to make an open diſcovery of ſuch blameable ſentiments: his prudence appears from his letters amongſt other occaſions, where, unqueſtionably againſt his own advice, he defends the edict of Nantz before the pope, p. 391, 393, 400, where he approves of the impriſonment of marechal de Biron, 705, and where he takes the part of queen Elizabeth, 243.

In ſhort, nothing can be a ſtronger proof that this cardinal had no perſonal diſlike to M. de Roſny, as it has been inſinuated, than his having never once mentioned his name with ill-nature. He is ſpoken of, p. 377, 440, 723: this laſt is the only place where he complains of him, though with all poſſible moderation, on account of his having ſuſpended the payment of his allowance.

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chal Biron's rebellion, and the diſcontent of the other French lords, to the very little ſatisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppreſſion the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counſellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himſelf upon his nice diſcernment in affairs of ſtate, preſumed, by deſiring Villeroi to ſhew his letter to the king, by adviſing his majeſty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Poſſibly if this proceeding of d'Oſſat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than miſtake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received ſuch exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he repreſented as a general conſpiracy of all the ſtates in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction compoſed of a few perſons, whoſe heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiouſneſs of the late times; and that all the reſt of the French nobility placed their glory and their happineſs in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their ſide, praiſed him no leſs, and, in effect, had no leſs reaſon to praiſe him, having but lately received a very conſiderable gratuity from him; and laſtly, that the people, beſides the ſuppreſſion of the penny in the ſhilling, had, by his majeſty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I WAS not acquainted with any of d'Oſſat's malicious proceeding, nor of his perſonal complaints againſt me, for not paying his penſion exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the ſpeedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himſelf of this commiſſion, by exalting, as uſual, the great abilities and ſervices of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accoſted by a banker, who made me a propoſal to diſcharge certain penſions, given by his majeſty to perſons at Rome, among others d'Oſſat's, which he did with the ſame unpolite freedom that the cabal of my ene-

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mies affected to uſe me with. There are ſome offices in themſelves of ſuch dignity, as to draw reſpect and conſideration upon the perſons who poſſeſs them. I was not ſorry that the banker was made ſenſible of this truth, and I ſent him away coldly enough. D'Oſſat found himſelf obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the ſame time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambaſſador at that court. D'Oſſat expreſſed himſelf in ſo inſolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deſerved no better an anſwer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an inconteſtible proof of the injurious language he publicly uſed againſt me: that inſtant, I confeſs, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and ſubſtituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time reſolved to expediate no more, but by the king's expreſs command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this reſolution, and in the poſtſcript of my letter, gave him a detail of the ſpeeches and letters of d'Oſſat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my juſt indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent; which, if what I had heard of him was true, he deſerved; if falſe, I gave Villeroi to underſtand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interpoſition in favour of d'Oſſat. He was ſtill more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the inſolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I conſented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Oſſat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: thoſe in favour of the Jeſuits were continued only during this year, for the ſociety returned to France in the following year.

I SHALL reſume this article in a proper place, and ſhall have occaſion once more to introduce d'Oſſat, on account of a memorial which was addreſſed to me from Rome againſt him. At preſent, what re-

mains to be ſaid of him regards the co-adjutorſhip of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I ſhall content myſelf with only informing the reader that d'Oſſat procured himſelf to be made co-adjutor of Baïeaux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majeſty gave me this abbey, after performing the promiſe he made to the Maintenons, that they ſhould loſe nothing by it, ſince they obtained an equivalent upon the biſhopric of Evreux. Villeroi earneſtly ſolicited his majeſty for d'Oſſat, and endeavoured to engage my intereſt for his friend; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly diſſatisfied that this favour was granted him.

The pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's abſence, upon the journey his majeſty had undertaken. That his holineſs intereſted himſelf in it, was occaſioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themſelves of the occaſion of this voyage, that which was conceived of his majeſty's armaments and treaſures, which common fame had greatly increaſed, and infected even the holy father with their apprehenſions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to re-aſſure him, without troubling myſelf to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His majeſty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongſt others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the laſt of February this year, the Spaniards had loſt eighteen thouſand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thouſand volleys of cannon before Oſtend; nevertheleſs the ſiege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the beſiegers attempting to make a general aſſault, they were repulſed with great loſs. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithſtanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Naſſau, on his ſide,

ſide, after the reduction of Grave, laid ſiege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to inveſt Boiſleduc, not conſidering that this enterpriſe exceeded his ſtrength, it being impoſſible, as I have already obſerved, to take Boiſleduc with ſo ſmall a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of loſing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the ſatisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the caſtle of Vactendonck, where they were, in a manner, already maſters. The garriſon of this place, too weak to reſiſt them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the caſtle to their diſcretion, when they were joined by ſome Dutch troops, who paſſed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and diſlodged them from the caſtle.

It may be eaſily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was abſolutely neceſſary that France ſhould continue to contribute. The ſiege of Oſtend alone had coſt them one hundred thouſand vollies of cannon, and ſeven thouſand men. His majeſty, for the intereſt of both powers, kept Buzenval * in thoſe provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent ſent by the ſtates to the king was named Aërſens †; this agent repreſented to me, that his countrymen would be ſoon in no condition to keep the field, unleſs his majeſty would permit

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërſens, reſident, and afterwards ambaſſador from the ſtates of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time repreſent him as a man of a ſubtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal Richelieu ſpeaks of him, Oxenſtiern, Chancellor of Sweden, and Guiſcardi, chancellor of Montſerrat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received "opinion of that time, ſays Amelot de la Houſſaye, that Henry IV. "had an amour with Aërſens' wife, and that the huſband was content "with it, by reaſon of the profit he reaped from it: this amour laid "the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres a year to his "ſon, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

them to recruit the French companies that were in their ſervice with Frenchmen. The king ſent me an anſwer from Chalons-ſur-Marne to this requeſt, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he conſented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon theſe conditions, that it ſhould be Aërſens himſelf that ſhould raiſe the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in ſuch a manner, as to draw upon him ſome reproaches from the king of Spain: that the recruits ſhould be raiſed with the utmoſt expedition and the utmoſt ſecrecy; and that the ſoldiers who liſted, the number of which he deſired to know, ſhould file off, without any noiſe, to the place where they were to embark, marching ſix in a company at moſt, with no other arms than their ſwords, and no more money than was neceſſary to anſwer their expences till they got there; that they ſhould take ſhipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this laſt city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice ſhould be ſent to Chaſtes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vic, whoſe concurrence was neceſſary to the deſign, and for whom he ſent me a letter without a ſeal. Some alterations, however, were made in theſe orders; Aërſens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raiſed the recruits, but did it with all poſſible ſecrecy. His majeſty thought it would not be amiſs to ſend the garriſon he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders; and, for fear that they ſhould liſt with the arch-duke, caſt his eyes upon my couſin Bethune to conduct them. As for the penſion for which Aërſens ſtrongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a reſolution about it till his return.

DURING the ſtay his majeſty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewiſe upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine,

Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electreſs: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his juſtification to Henry, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majeſty ſent me immediately to have my opinion of it †. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unſeaſonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to repreſent to him the great affliction it gave the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity ſuſpected by the king; and to aſſure him, that he himſelf was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanſwerable. The king had ſent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La-Tremouille that he ſhould at leaſt ſtop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine therefore, to excuſe the duke, alledged, that with regard to the firſt complaint, the quality of his accuſers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himſelf to them; and to the ſecond he ſaid, that the gentleman who brought his majeſty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a ſincere intention to go and expect his majeſty at Sedan; but that thinking it neceſſary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and alſo to pay his reſpects to the elector and electreſs, his kinſwoman, whom he had not yet ſeen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had miſſed the opportunity of receiving his majeſty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated aſſurances of the duke's attachment to his majeſty, for the ſincerity of which the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

HENRY anſwered the elector's letter with more politeneſs than he had reaſon to expect, and promiſed, as he had always done, to reſtore the duke of

† Hiſtory of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

Bouillon to his friendſhip and eſteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himſelf to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making theſe new proteſtations, his majeſty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man, named Du-Pleſſis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been ſent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with diſpatches, in which his majeſty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to ſet out from Longjumeau, had orders to paſs through Sedan without making himſelf known, not even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to paſs through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the anſwer to Tremouille's diſpatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majeſty would not have entered into ſo circumſtantial an account of this affair, but that he wiſhed (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arreſt this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he ſhould have received letters in that city; which would fully diſcover the nature of his commiſſion.

His majeſty had certainly no occaſion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too raſhly, that the ſubmiſſion which appeared in that ſtep he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only diſſembled with a view to two things; the firſt was, to inſpire the king with a ſecurity in regard to his perſon, and the ſecond, to continue to draw from him thoſe ſums which for a long time he had regularly received for the ſupport of his fortreſſes. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly diſpleaſed. His majeſty recommended it earneſtly to me, to have no regard to the inſtances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the ſame time to give him no reaſon to ſuſpect that I had any knowledge of what he had juſt related

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to me. Theſe orders were indeed unneceſſary, after the diſcoveries I had lately made of the new diſcontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongſt the proteſtants, and from the reſult of the converſation I had with Henry at the arſenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed, after having long conſidered the caſt of the cabal, which ſtruck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at laſt to ſet him at peace, by ſhewing him, that however formidable might be its preſent appearance, it would, after ſome ineffectual ſtruggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconſiderateneſs of thoſe whom we are pleaſed to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon ſome particular aims, and follow them not only with raſhneſs but rapture, yet theſe aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to ſome common intereſt; but that any private one's ends, ſuch as proceed from the anger or wiſhes of a particular man, or of a ſmall number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to ſay farther, that of general intereſts the voice of the people will give the moſt certain judgment: allowing this principle, I conſidered the ſeditious party as terrible, only on account of the miſchievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by miſrepreſentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raiſed of oppreſſion and ſlavery. And as thoſe influences and thoſe terrors would be made every day leſs by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never ſee itſelf oppoſed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortreſſes, unable to ſtand a fortnight againſt a royal army.

The king was at Metz when he heard the firſt news of the ſickneſs of queen Elizabeth, which

was ſent to him by the count de Beaumont †, our ambaſſador at London: his majeſty, thereupon, reſolved to haſten his departure from that city. At his ſiſter's requeſt, he went from thence to Nancy, where ſhe had cauſed a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for ſome days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death ‡ of this great queen, which he heard of ſoon after, was an irreparable loſs to Europe, and to Henry in particular, who could not hope, in the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth, to find the ſame favourable diſpoſition to all his deſigns as he had in this princeſs, "the irre-" concileable enemy of his irreconcileable enemies, " and a ſecond ſelf:" ſuch were the terms which Henry made uſe of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almoſt wholly filled with the praiſes of this great queen, and expreſſions of ſorrow for her loſs.

His majeſty, who was immediately ſenſible how greatly this event might influence the political af-

† Chriſtopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

‡ Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report and the common opinion of the hiſtorians at that time, were, that her death was occaſioned by a ſecret grief and melancholy which ſhe could not conquer; the occaſion of which was attributed to her remorſe and ſelf-reproach for being the cauſe of the earl of Eſſex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, ſhe had ſhewn the greateſt affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. ii. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and ſome others ſay nothing of this ſuppoſed grief, but, on the contrary, ſay, that like Auguſtus, ſhe died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred againſt our religion, and her cruelty in putting her firſt couſin, queen Mary, to death, have tarniſhed the luſtre of her reign: nevertheleſs, I acquieſce in the elogy beſtowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by ſaying, ſhe had thoſe of a king, not merely as ſuch, but of a very great king. She ſpake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spaniſh: ſhe was alſo well verſed in the mathematics, hiſtory, politics, &c. Beſides particular hiſtories of her life, ſee Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Hen. IV. La Septennaire, an. 1603. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. iii. p. 209. and other French hiſtorians.

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fairs of Europe, determined, as I have already ſaid, to ſend me in quality of ambaſſador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above-mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I ſhould oppoſe it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commiſſion by the ſtrongeſt motives, and ſuch as he knew moſt likely to make an impreſſion on me. I was the only perſon Henry could think of for this purpoſe; I repeat his words, and that becauſe I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embaſſy. My religion, probably, had already diſpoſed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free acceſs to him. I dare not mention what his majeſty further ſaid, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which he ſaid I had acquired among foreigners. Henry ſoon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germaine-en-layé, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, completed a tour of two months.

I HAD received a ſecond letter ſoon after the firſt, in which his majeſty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to uſe their utmoſt efforts to gain the new king; we ſhall afterwards ſee that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thouſand things to ſay to me on this head, which made him extremely deſirous of an opportunity to converſe freely with me about it. I joined him at the houſe of Monglat, where he had ſcarce any attendants with him, at which he expreſſed great ſatisfaction. He embraced me cloſely three times, ſaid a few words publicly to me on the ſucceſs of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his † buildings

† Henry IV. built the new caſtle of Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terraſſes.

at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arſenal, and for other works, of which I had the inſpection and conduct, and which had been partly the ſubjects of thoſe letters I had received from him; therein he had alſo directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called The Hall of Antiquities.

After I had, in a conciſe but ſatisfactory manner, replied to all theſe articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered ſome of his guards to be placed. The embaſſy to England was the ſole ſubject of our converſation. His majeſty had at firſt imparted to his court his reſolution to ſend this embaſſy, but without naming the perſon whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited ſome murmurs among the partiſans of the pope and Spain; and it was ſaid, that Henry ſought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majeſty, notwithſtanding, declared publicly his intention to inveſt me with this employment, their diſguſt then ſhewed itſelf without reſtraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reaſon to think was made up of my moſt inveterate enemies, boldly repreſented to his majeſty, that to ſend a huguenot to treat concerning the intereſt of the kingdom, with a prince of the ſame religion, would be highly dangerous to the ſtate; and more eſpecially ſo, were he intruſted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majeſty to revoke my nomination, they contented themſelves with getting my commiſſion confined only to condolances upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at moſt, to an inſpection into the ſtate of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer, on the principal occaſion of my journey.

Henry,

HENRY, at the ſame time that he informed me of theſe ſecret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his aſſurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his deſigns, either with reſpect to the embaſſy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at firſt in view: and he further confirmed this his reſolution, by judiciouſly obſerving, that an embaſſy, whoſe commiſſion ſhould be confined merely to ceremony, would be uſeleſs and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever ſeeing the new king of England purſue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princeſs, it would doubtleſs depend chiefly on the manner in which he ſhould be at firſt prejudiced againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its antient partiſans: but he confeſſed to me, that this point appeared to him, in all reſpect, ſo extremely difficult, that, unleſs it was managed with the utmoſt dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the Engliſh court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further ſaid, that it would firſt be neceſſary ſo to impoſe on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might ſuſpect nothing in my commiſſion more than what ſhould be declared to me in their preſence, and even with their conſent. His majeſty, on this occaſion, repeated a ſimile, of La Riviere's, which he often uſed, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's ſhop, in which are contained not only the moſt ſalutary remedies, but alſo the moſt ſubtile poiſons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the beſt advantage of both, by mixing them in the moſt proper manner. In regard to the propoſitions which I ſhould make to the Engliſh miniſters, he ſaid, I ought to be cautious not to expoſe the ſovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the ſhame of having made advances which ſhould be neglected or deſpiſed, and

perhaps to a neceſſity of revenging them: and as to the more ſecret propoſitions, which, at a proper opportunity, I ſhould make to king James, he ſaid it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid haſtening, by any imprudent ſtep, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or at leaſt far from being concluded. His majeſty ſuppoſed, that all cauſes of diſſatisfaction might, as much as it was poſſible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, ſuch inſtructions, in regard to my embaſſy, as ſhould appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, ſhould not prevent my ſeconding his majeſty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might preſent; provided, nevertheleſs, that I did it as of myſelf, and without giving this prince to underſtand, that I was authoriſed herein by the king my maſter.

WHAT his majeſty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of ſuch great conſequence, that I deſired him to grant me four days to conſider of it, before I gave him my anſwer. I immediately ſet out poſt for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I eaſily perſuaded myſelf to comply with the king's deſires, but I thought it a neceſſary precaution to have his majeſty's more immediate avowal and authority for all theſe propoſitions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myſelf, without which I thought it would be riſquing too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence. to which my religion gave me the beſt claim; but I was ſenſible, that, by this, I ſhould be obliged to break through thoſe bounds of circumſpection, which, in France, I had preſcribed to myſelf, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reaſon to doubt but that, whatever words might

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eſcape me, which, in this reſpect, ſhould appear ſomewhat free, would be as induſtriouſly reported by the enemies I ſhould have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cauſe for being apprehenſive, that ſomething of this kind ſhould be afterwards repreſented in ſuch a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majeſty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of miſtruſt and ill-humour; and ſometimes one of theſe moments is ſufficient to ruin a miniſter, however firmly ſupported; a reverſe of fortune which it was not impoſſible but I myſelf might experience.

All theſe conſiderations confirmed me in a reſolution, not to depart without a writing ſigned by his majeſty, and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expreſſions I might uſe to the king of England, I might be able, if neceſſary, to juſtify myſelf, and ſhew that I had done nothing but to promote the ſucceſs of our affairs, and that by his majeſty's expreſs orders. Thus I declared myſelf to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arſenal to receive my anſwer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwiſe than by ſaying, that I was full of fears leſt any part of my conduct, on this occaſion, ſhould draw upon me the misfortune of his diſpleaſure.

We were at that inſtant alone. Henry, after having taken a ſhort turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his cuſtom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My propoſal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confeſſed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himſelf the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expreſſed in ſuch terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me

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to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his miniſters, ſo zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them aſſurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propoſitions which I was to make this prince were alſo enumerated, but I ſhall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand deſign: I was alſo directed to deſire the king of England, in caſe he ſhould not approve of what I had to propoſe to him, not to let it be known in France, becauſe I was not authoriſed to make any ſuch propoſitions; and further (ſuppoſing king James approved them) I ſhould feign to defer communicating to the king my maſter what might be agreed between us, till I ſhould ſee whether it would be as favourably received by the northern crowns, and the ſtates-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majeſty.

Such was my ſecret credential letter, which I then conſidered as a great acquiſition, and no doubt the king, on his ſide, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was ſufficient. It was neceſſary to be prepared for the king of England's abſolute and entire compliance with all his majeſty's intentions, and to be able to make the beſt of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank ſigned by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did ſcarce permit us even to think of this.

In regard to the general inſtructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he ſet out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on account of a violent diſorder, which

which ſeized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May *: this was ſo ſtrong a retention of urine, that his phyſicians at firſt deſpaired of his life. The king himſelf was ſtrongly perſuaded that his laſt hour approached, and being deſirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his ſoul, and that of his kingdom, he addreſſed himſelf with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately diſpatched to me at Paris, where I was making the neceſſary preparations for my voyage, and little expected ſo melancholy a meſſage. "My friend, I "find myſelf ſo ill, that it ſeems highly probable "God will ſoon diſpoſe of me; and it being my "duty, next to the care of my ſoul, to make the "neceſſary diſpoſitions to ſecure the ſucceſſion to "my children, that their reign may be proſperous, "and may promote the happineſs of my wife, my "kingdom, my good and faithful ſervants, and my "dear people, whom I love equally with my own "children, I deſire to confer with you on all theſe "matters: come to me therefore with all diligence, "and ſay nothing of it to any one; make an ap-"pearance only of going to the conventicle at Ab-"lon; and having privately ordered poſt-horſes to "be there in readineſs, proceed immediately to this "place."

The peruſal of this moſt ſenſibly affected me. I ſet out with the greateſt precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed;

* The king, ſays the marechal de Baſſompierre, was ſeized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecoſt, which gave him great pain, but he was ſoon freed from it. The phyſicians being aſſembled, (theſe are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile) the reſult of their conſultations were in theſe terms: *Abſtineat à quavis muliere, etium regina; ſin minus, periculum eſt ne ante tres menſes elapſos vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not ſtrictly obſerve what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad conſequence ariſe therefrom.

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the queen was ſeated by him, and held one of his hands between hers; he held out the other to me, and ſaid, "My good friend, draw near and embrace me, I am extremely glad you are come; is it not ſtrange that, two hours after I wrote to you, my exceſſive pains ſhould begin to abate? I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me, for I have made water three times, the laſt moſt profuſely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, "This, ſaid he, of all my ſervants, is he who beſt underſtands, and is moſt careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had I been taken from you, would have been beſt able to ſerve both you and my children: I know, indeed, that his temper is ſomewhat auſtere, that he is often rather too plain for ſuch a ſpirit as yours, and that, on this account, many have endeavoured to prejudice you and my children againſt him, that he might be removed from you; but if ever this event ſhould happen, and you ſhould employ ſuch and ſuch perſons (naming them ſoftly in her ear) and, inſtead of following the good counſels of this man, ſhould be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon it, it will prove deſtructive to the ſtate, and may, perhaps, ruin my children and yourſelf. I have ſent thus ſuddenly for him, that, with him and you, I might conſult upon the means to prevent theſe evils; but I thank God my precaution will probably not yet be neceſſary."

Couriers upon couriers were the next day diſpatched, to diſſipate the diſagreeable rumours which were already ſpread in all places. I did not myſelf return to Paris, till I had ſeen the king make water: he would have it ſo, and he did it twice with ſuch facility, that I was perfectly ſatisfied all danger was over. Three days after, I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in the

the left arm by La Riviere the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having reſted well the whole night, found himſelf grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the intereſt I ſeemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occaſion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promiſed to obſerve what I had ſaid. He was already able to be as circumſtantial as uſual in thoſe details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to ſend two hundred crowns to each of the perſons afflicted with the evil, whom his own diſorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheleſs he would not ſend back. Herein alſo, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had ſent him. His majeſty's phyſicians were unanimous, on this occaſion, in making him the ſame repreſentations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exerciſe in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himſelf conſiderably better for it: he alſo received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for ſome time, during which the young princeſs his daughter was taken ſo ill, that her life was deſpaired of; both the king and the dauphin his ſon went frequently to ſee her.

TOGETHER with this letter from his majeſty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majeſty had ſent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; alſo that I was expected by his Britannic majeſty, who attributed my delay to the king's indiſpoſition, and to the baron Du-Tours not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the acceſſion

ceſſion of James the VIth * to the crown of England. The baron Du Tour was, for this purpoſe, ſent by James to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure from England, for theſe reaſons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would ſoon ſend for me, and inform me of the day: but his majeſty changed his intention in this reſpect, and came himſelf to Paris. The heat, which had begun early in this year, was exceſſive, and rendered the ſands of Fontainebleau inſupportable to one but juſt recovering from ſickneſs.

Two days after his majeſty's arrival at Paris, he aſſembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maiſſe, and Sillery, on the ſubject of my departure, and that I might receive my public inſtructions

* Henry Stuart baron of Darnly, duke of Rotheſay, &c. eſpouſed Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; ſhe having after his death retired into Scotland. He was ſtrangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at firſt king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his ſon, and died in 1625. On his acceſſion to the crown of England, the marquiſs of Roſny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, at that time his ambaſſador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the preſent duke of Sully.

To the Scots ambaſſador.

SIR,

"The intereſt you have in the proſperity of the affairs of the "king of Scotland, joined to the deſire I have to do you ſervice, "have induced me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have "juſt received from the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed "of the deceaſe of the queen of England, of the acceſſion, reception "and acknowledgment of the king of Scotland to that crown, and "that all things there are in a ſtate of peace and tranquility; for "which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the "deſire of every good man."

"SIR,

"Your moſt humble couſin "and ſervant."

Signed ROSNY.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

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in their preſence. When I entered the king's cloſet, where this council was held, I told his majeſty that the count of Soiſſons was in the chamber without; and that it appeared to me neceſſary that he likewiſe ſhould be introduced, to be a witneſs of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had juſt ſaid, he would take occaſion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soiſſons' reſentment ſtill ſubſiſted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reaſon to expect from me; he thanked me for it, aſſured me that he would forget the paſt, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in theſe ſentiments.

THE principal object of theſe inſtructions had always been a cloſe alliance between France and England againſt Spain, notwithſtanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partiſans of that crown in France. The principal difference between theſe, and the ſecret inſtructions which I had received from his majeſty, was, that in the former he had concealed the true motives to this alliance: I will not tranſcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumſtantial. The ſubſtance of them was briefly as follows: To take every opportunity of diſcourſing upon, and informing the king of England, of all the unjuſt and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inſpire him with an averſion to that crown: to repreſent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new uſurpations in Italy; her ſecret practices in England, by means of the Jeſuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the ſanction of the authority which the Pope pretends to have over thoſe kingdoms; her deſigns upon Straſbourg, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to conſent to the pope's giving

giving the coadjutorſhip of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain univerſal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, the king of England muſt either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or ſecret war againſt that crown: in the firſt caſe, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries: after which ſhe would not fail to turn her arms either againſt France or England; and moſt probably towards the latter, on account of the pope's long inveteracy to it. I was alſo to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report induſtriouſly ſpread by Spain, that ſhe had no intention to get poſſeſſion of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a diſtinct kingdom, ſuch as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a laſt reſource, I was to inſiſt, that Spain ſhould at leaſt be made to purchaſe this peace at a high price, or ſhould be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and eſpecially that he ſhould give up Oſtend. In caſe an open war ſhould be reſolved upon, I was to endeavour to diſcover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if poſſible prevent it, and repreſent to him the neceſſity of beginning by giving a powerful aſſiſtance to the States.

Finally, if a ſecret war was reſolved upon, in which I was to uſe my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this caſe I was to repreſent to him, that prudence required he ſhould begin by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, ſecuring it to his deſcendants, and by gaining Europe in his intereſts; ſo that Spain might be one day irreſiſtibly attacked: that till this was effected it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitleſs employment of her forces againſt Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of the

the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, ſhould not be declared till they had begun the execution of their deſigns. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the ſuccours which were proviſionally to be given the States; and prevent the Engliſh council from demanding the three hundred thouſand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, leſt they might thereby be induced to throw themſelves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to perſuade his Britannic majeſty to be at new expences, equally with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in favour of theſe people, and to aſſiſt them with the ſame number of ſhips as queen Elizabeth had done; alſo to obtain permiſſion, that the four hundred and fifty thouſand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies ſhould require in Flanders; and that the three hundred thouſand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand livres which Henry obliged himſelf to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thouſand livres for the preſent neceſſities of the States-General. In caſe I could not gain a compliance with theſe articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thouſand livres diſcharged, France obliging herſelf to pay it; alſo, to manage this affair in ſuch a manner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as ſecurities for theſe ſuccours; and to ſound his intentions in regard to thoſe of which he was already poſſeſſed in Zealand. In purſuance of this plan, I was to conſult with Barnevelt, act in concert with him and the ſtates deputies at London, ſeem attached to their intereſts, entertain them with agreeable hopes, perſuade them that their intereſts were the care of the Britiſh council, without giving

giving umbrage to this council, and make the beſt advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

THESE were the principal points of my inſtructions: there were ſome others which did not relate to the ſame ſubject, or at leaſt not immediately; ſuch was that in regard to the piracies of the Engliſh. I was charged to complain, that ſince the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a diſſolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being diſadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the ſame privileges and immunities in England that the Engliſh had in France. The cloſe union between Elizabeth and Henry had cauſed all things to be equal on both ſides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then conſidered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumſpect on this head, and even entirely ſuppreſs it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any riſque of raiſing a ſuſpicion in a new king, from which Elizabeth herſelf had not been exempt, that France only ſought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which ſhe would then eaſily extricate herſelf. If what the baron Du-Tour had ſaid in France, of his Britannic majeſty's reſolution to ſuccour Oſtend, ſhould appear to be well grounded, I might then ſpare myſelf part of theſe precautions.

THE manner in which I was to treat with the ambaſſadors of the king of Spain and the archdukes; the attention which I was to beſtow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the juſtification of Beaumont, againſt whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the ſame privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: theſe were other articles of my inſtructions. There was one article

article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in reſpect to whom I was to be ſilent, unleſs the king of England ſhould ſpeak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this caſe I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may obſerve, that the ſubjects of my negociations were ſufficiently extenſive; for I was to gain a knowledge of the diſpoſitions of the king and people of England, not only with reſpect to Spain and Flanders, but alſo to the northern crowns: to ſay the truth, the political ſtate of all Europe was concerned in my enſuing conduct and its conſequences.

THESE inſtructions*, in which, to my other titles, his majeſty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in preſence of the count of Soiſſons, Sillery, and Jeannin, ſigned by his majeſty and Villeroi. Henry alſo gave me ſix letters, one from his majeſty to the king of England, beſides another for the ſame prince for form-ſake counter-ſigned; two others, in the ſame manner, from the king to the queen of England, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majeſty alſo gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewiſe ſecretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he preſented me his hand to kiſs, then embraced me, wiſhed me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good ſucceſs.

THE beginning of June I ſet out for Calais, where

* The original of theſe inſtructions, ſigned with Henry IV's own hand, is ſtill in being; as alſo another piece, written by M. de Roſny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroi, according to his deſire, to aſſiſt him in preparing my inſtructions.* This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embaſſy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themſelves ſuch, of whom a conſiderable number were really of the firſt diſtinction. Juſt before my departure old Servin came and preſented his ſon to me, and begged I would uſe my endeavours to make him a man of ſome worth and honeſty; but he confeſſed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of underſtanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curioſity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monſter; for I can give no other idea of that aſſemblage of the moſt excellent and moſt pernicious qualities. Let the reader repreſent to himſelf a man of a genius ſo lively, and an underſtanding ſo extenſive, as rendered him ſcarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of ſo vaſt and ready a comprehenſion, that he immediately made himſelf maſter of what he attempted; and of ſo prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he poſſeſſed all parts of philoſophy and the methematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was ſo well ſkilled that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able diſputant for and againſt the reformed religion indifferently; he not only underſtood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but alſo all the different jargons, or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them ſo naturally, and ſo perfectly imitated the geſtures and manners both of the ſeveral nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of theſe countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all ſorts of perſons, wherein he ſucceeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the beſt comedian and greateſt droll that perhaps ever appeared;

peared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verſes; he played upon almoſt all inſtruments, was a perfect maſter of muſic, and ſung moſt agreeably and juſtly; he likewiſe could ſay maſs; for he was of a diſpoſition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well ſuited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dexterous, and fit for all exerciſes; he could ride well, and in dancing, wreſtling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was ſkilled in almoſt all mechanic arts. But now for the reverſe of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a ſharper in play, immerſed in every ſpecies of vice, a blaſphemer, an atheiſt: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and ſociety; the truth of which he himſelf evinced with his lateſt breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with the glaſs in his hand, curſing and denying God.

FROM the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majeſty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I uſed only the common character; my general cypher I uſed for ſuch matters as were to be known only to the council; and my ſecret cypher I employed in what I addreſſed to the king himſelf, which was to be ſeen only by him: his majeſty choſe to have the greateſt part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering ſo great, that he at laſt entruſted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himſelf well ſkilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myſelf in the uſe of this cypher, whenever I wanted to deſcend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my

letters; however, I complied with his majeſty's deſires in this reſpect as well as I could, more eſpecially after the affair of the loſt diſpatch. All theſe letters, which I have preſerved, I ſhall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumſtance relative to my embaſſy at London, and my negociations with king James.

I STAYED a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and ſome others, who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland alſo came and deſired I would embark in their ſhips. The report current at Calais, of the good underſtanding between the Engliſh and Spaniards, occaſioned by what had paſſed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambaſſador from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I ſaw made to De-Vic, of the enterprizes of the Engliſh cruizers upon the coaſts of France, inclined me at firſt to refuſe their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me againſt the new court of London, I changed my deſign in this reſpect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cauſe of complaint, I accepted the two veſſels offered me by the Engliſh vice-admiral.

I EMBARKED the 15th of June at ſix o'clock in the morning. The Engliſh, by whom I was ſerved, paid me a reſpect which appeared to me to degenerate into ſervility: but I had very ſoon reaſon to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they deſired I would command them in every reſpect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only ſought an opportunity of ſhewing the Engliſh his reſentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-

* Dominic De Vic, ſignior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice-admiral of France: he died in 1670.

main-top-gallant-maſt, I found theſe complaiſant Engliſh were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I repreſented: and I had reaſon to think them ſtill more rude and upolite, when, without deigning to conſult me, fifty ſhot were immediately fired againſt De-Vic's † ſhip. It was with great difficulty that

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whoſe teſtimony hereupon is of great weight, more eſpecially as they agree in it, both ſay, that the captain of the Engliſh ſhip in which M. de Roſny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I ſuſpect our Memoirs either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have ſomewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned: "De-Vic, "vice-admiral of France, ſoon after he had caſt anchor in Dover-"road, (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de "Roſny) ſailed from thence on his return to Calais, and paſſing by "the ſhip on board of which M. de Roſny then was, he ordered his "flag to be hoiſted, and gave him a ſalute; ſoon after which, the "flag was again taken in. The Engliſh captain of the ſhip where "M. de Roſny was, ſeeing the French flag hoiſted, commanded his "men to fire upon the vice-admiral of France, ſwearing he would "ſuffer no flag to be ſeen in theſe ſeas but that of England. A gun "was immediately fired upon De Vic's ſhip, who, having demanded "the reaſon of it, prepared to defend himſelf. M. de Roſny com-"plained of it to the Engliſh captain, and repreſented the firing this "ſhot as an offence done to himſelf; but he talked to a man who re-"fuſed to hear reaſon, and who anſwered him only with rage and "fury; he was therefore forced to ſubmit, and made a ſign to the "vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic "thinking himſelf injured, demanded ſatisfaction of the Engliſh ad-"miral; who anſwered him, that the king of England, his maſter, "did not permit what the captain had preſumed to do, deſired that "he would excuſe his indiſcretion, &c. and promiſed that nothing "like it ſhould ever happen again. This reply appeaſed and quieted all "parties." Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Teſtament Politique, makes uſe of this as an argument, to demonſtrate to Lewis XIII. the abſolute neceſſity there was for a naval power: "The cannon-ſhot, ſays he, by piercing the veſſel, "pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen; and if the words of king "James were civil, yet were they of no other effect, than to oblige "the duke of Sully to obtain his ſatisfaction from his own prudence, "by feigning to be contented, tho' his diſcontent, and his reaſon for "it, was really greater, and farther from being removed than ever. "The king, your father, was under a neceſſity to uſe diſſimulation on "this occaſion, but he did it with the reſolution, whenever it "might again be neceſſary, to maintain the juſt rights of his crown

I made myſelf heard; which, however, I at laſt effected, by repreſenting to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and alſo to give me a more diſtinguiſhed mark of his reſpect, by dropping his flag upon my firſt command ſo to do, I thought it would be moſt prudent to do this; and my Engliſh hearing what I ſaid, were ſo far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next diſcharge at random. I made a ſignal to De-Vic, which he perfectly underſtood, and took in his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he ſwore at the ſame time to be revenged on the Engliſh whenever he ſhould again meet with them. Though I much queſtion, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the diſpute was ended by this means, and our paſſage met with no further interruption.

I ARRIVED at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the ſame office in England, which Gondy had in France, being that part of the reception of ambaſſadors which conſiſts in providing them with lodging, proviſions, horſes, or chariots, and other things of this nature. The mayor of Dover alſo came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were ſo great, that it was ſaid, that nothing like it had ever before been ſeen for any ambaſſador. But I was not now to be impoſed upon by theſe appearances, having ſo lately received a different ſpecimen of the Engliſh politeneſs, of which

" by ſuch a naval force as time would furniſh him with the means " to acquire." Part. ii. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is alſo related in the Teſtament, the circumſtances are told in a manner almoſt entirely different. We may further obſerve, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he ſpeaks of the ſatisfaction which he deſired king James to grant him, paſſes it over very ſlightly; doubtleſs, becauſe he would not appear to have been ſo very grievouſly offended as perhaps he really was.

I

I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

THE governor of this place ſent his nephew to me, to deſire I would come with him and ſee the caſtle, he not being able to wait on me himſelf, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a ſecond, from which I conceived a good opinion of the perſon by whom they were ſent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility, might juſtly have fallen upon myſelf, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the caſtle the next day, with all my retinue; but I ſoon diſcovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of thoſe who have the curioſity to ſee the caſtle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myſelf, quit their ſwords. Being introduced to the governor, whoſe name was Thomas Wymer, he received us ſeated in his chair, but, perceiving that ſome of us were looking at the towers and walls of the caſtle, he put on ſo ſour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid leſt our preſence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be ſaid or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeneſs; and this proved to be no unneceſſary caution.

WHEN we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer ſhewed himſelf that polite and obliging perſon, who but juſt before had demanded a liſt of thoſe who accompanied me, that, as he ſaid, they might all be furniſhed with the neceſſary horſes and chariots: and I could not but ſuppoſe his ſole deſign, in getting this liſt, was that he might ſend it to London; for he ſuffered all my retinue to provide themſelves horſes as well as they could, and at their own coſts; and theſe mild people lent them at

ſo high a price, and at the ſame time with ſo much arrogance, that they ſeemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our ſentiments of ſo rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I HAD more reaſon to be pleaſed with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road; and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and reſpects, they pretended to have received orders ſo to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a ſmall city, though extremely populous, and ſo polite that, in no other place, I received ſuch diſtinguiſhed honours and civilities as there; ſome came to kiſs my boot, others to kiſs my hands, and others to make me preſents of flowers; all which muſt be attributed not to the Engliſh of this city (they every where preſerve their character of averſion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemiſh, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at laſt almoſt entirely changed it, and, at this day, compoſe two thirds of its inhabitants. I viſited the church, and was preſent at the ſervice, wherein the muſic was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons underſtood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their careſſes and civilities: one of them ſhewed himſelf ſo well affected to France, as to give me an information of ſome conſequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërſens to Henry himſelf. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me as one of my ſecretaries; and being informed that this was the ſon of his old friend, he came to ſee him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the ſecretary of count Aremberg *, ambaſſador from the arch-

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbançon, count of Aremberg.

duke,

duke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

HERE my lord Sidney came, and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Aremberg, was my lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy-council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some contempt from the king of England; but afterwards reflecting that the quality of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others by his direction, paid me. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be shewn. Beaumont addressed himself to Sidney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy-council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and con-

ſidents of king James, came to me from that prince at Graveſend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Graveſend we paſſed through Rocheſter, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's meſſengers on thoſe houſes where we were to be entertained and lodged, if neceſſary.

At Graveſend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of theſe I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone ſaluted us with upwards of three thouſand guns, beſides the diſcharges from ſeveral ſhip-guns, and the muſquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I ſcarce ever heard a finer ſalute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the houſe of the count of Beaumont, which I had choſen for the day. The confluence of people was ſo great, that we could ſcarce open ourſelves a paſſage.

This very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two Engliſh lords who had been ſent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took me aſide, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windſor, a caſtle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earneſtly deſired, having firſt expreſſed to me his zeal, that I would impart ſomething to him which he might communicate to his majeſty, no doubt with an intention to do himſelf honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince. After him my lord Sidney came, and made me the ſame requeſt, by ingenuouſly telling

telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being firſt deputed to me, and the reſpect and attachment which he had for his moſt chriſtian majeſty, might merit my reſerving for him at leaſt ſome part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I ſhould not diſcloſe myſelf entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived theſe gentlemen had a mutual jealouſy of each other, and contended who ſhould be the firſt that ſhould give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to ſay, the former received only falſe, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little conſequence, and ſuch as I ſhould have been glad to ſee publiſhed.

They both made what uſe of them they thought proper: as to myſelf, I ſupped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for ſo ſhort a time had not been ſufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was deſtined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the fineſt, and from its great number of apartments upon the ſame floor, the moſt commodious in London: but this greatly embaraſſed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houſes and apartments were ſought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refuſed to receive us, on account of the miſbehaviour which they had but lately experienced in ſome of marechal Biron's people; the greateſt part therefore had like to have been obliged to paſs the night in the ſtreet.

It muſt indeed be confeſſed, that, if what I heard on this ſubject was true, Biron, by the exceſſes which he had ſuffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to juſtify the animoſity of the Engliſh nation againſt us. I am accuſtomed to ſpeak my ſentiments freely, and never more ſo than when they may be of uſe in correcting our

manners. The youth of our nation have not yet diveſted themſelves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor thoſe licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumſpect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accuſtomed to ſpend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundleſs exceſſes.

I WAS fully reſolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it ſhould not, at leaſt, be incurred by thoſe over whom I had authority; and I determined to exerciſe this authority in ſuch a manner, as to oblige all my people to a ſtrict regularity of behaviour: but in theſe caſes precepts are ſeldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almoſt immediately.

I WAS the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handſome houſe, ſituate in a great ſquare, near which all my retinue were alſo provided with the neceſſary lodgings; ſome of them went to entertain themſelves with common women of the town: at the ſame place they met with ſome Engliſh, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the Engliſh was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced againſt us, being excited by the family of the deceaſed, who was a ſubſtantial citizen, aſſembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair ſoon began to appear of great conſequence; for the number of people aſſembled upon the occaſion was preſently increaſed to upwards of three thouſand, which obliged the French to fly for an aſylum into the houſe of the ambaſſador. I did not at firſt take notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis D'Oraiſon, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but obſerving them come in at different times by three or four together, and with

with great emotion, I at laſt imagined ſomething extraordinary had happened, and having queſtioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

THE honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the intereſt of my negotiation, were the firſt objects that preſented themſelves to my mind. I was alſo moſt ſenſibly grieved, that my entry into London ſhould be marked at the beginning by ſo fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am perſuaded, my countenance plainly expreſſed the ſentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my firſt impulſe, I aroſe, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the houſe (which was about an hundred) to range themſelves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to diſcover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty, by his agitation and fear: he was for denying it at firſt, but I ſoon obliged him to confeſs the truth. He was a young man, and the ſon of the ſieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinſman likewiſe of Beaumont's, who, entering that moment, deſired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to ſave him. "I do not wonder," "replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the Engliſh and you are at va-"riance, if you are capable of preferring the intereſt "of yourſelf and your relations, to that of the king "and the public: but the ſervice of the king my "maſter, and the ſafety of ſo many gentlemen of "good families, ſhall not ſuffer for ſuch an impru-"dent ſtripling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut ſhould be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, ſir, cried Beaumont, be-"head a kinſman of mine, poſſeſſed of two hundred "thouſand crowns, an only ſon! it is but an ill "recompence for the trouble he has given him-"ſelf, and the expence he has been at to accom-"pany you." I again replied, in as poſitive a tone,

" I had no occaſion for ſuch company;" and to be ſhort, I deſired Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him preſent in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce ſentence of death upon Combaut.

In this council, I made choice only of the oldeſt and the wiſeſt of my retinue; and the affair being preſently determined, I ſent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to deſire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for anſwer, that his firſt care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him juſtice; and that he was juſt coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the ſentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either becauſe my ſeverity had diſarmed his, or, which ſeemed moſt probable, becauſe he had already ſuffered himſelf to be gained by preſents from the friends of the criminal. I ſent again to this magiſtrate to inform him, that as no ſuperior authority, nor reſpect for any perſon whatever, had determined me to pronounce this ſentence, I could not conſent to revoke it: that, by carrying it into execution, I ſhould juſtify the king my maſter, and give the Engliſh nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occaſion which my duty required; therefore, in ſuch an affair, I could only acquit myſelf of it by committing it to him, and by reſigning the priſoner to ſuch puniſhment as juſtice, and the laws of England required. I accordingly ſent Combaut to him; ſo that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who without much difficulty, obtained this magiſtrate's conſent to ſet Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me; on the contrary, I perceived both the French and

Engliſh

Engliſh ſeemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended ſo well for Combaut; and the conſequence of this to me, with reſpect to the Engliſh and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

THIS removed at leaſt one obſtacle to the ſucceſs of my negotiation: but there ſtill remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular perſons, according as their different intereſts might incline them to traverſe it. It is certain that the Engliſh hate us, and this hatred is ſo general and inveterate, that one would almoſt be tempted to number it among their natural diſpoſitions: it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and inſolent, nor more conceited of its ſuperior excellence: were they to be believed, underſtanding and common ſenſe are to be found only among them; they are obſtinately wedded to all their own opinions, and deſpiſe thoſe of every other nation; and to hear others or ſuſpect themſelves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themſelves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: ſometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the inſtability of the element by which they are ſurrounded; with them all things muſt ſubmit to the reigning diſpoſitions, and the ſole difference between them and any the moſt inconſtant people in Europe, is, that their inconſtancy proceeds not from lightneſs, but from their vanity, which continually ſhews itſelf in a thouſand different ſhapes. Their ſelf-love renders themſelves ſlaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wiſely performed, or firmly reſolved, is at another time deſtroyed, without their knowing or being able to give a reaſon; they are accordingly ſo undetermined in themſelves, that frequently one would not take them

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ſor the ſame perſons, and from hence they themſelves ſometimes appear ſurpriſed on perceiving their own continued irreſolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of ſtate, we ſhall diſcover in them only the laws of pride itſelf, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

FROM this portrait, it may at firſt appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambaſſador to inſpire them with new reſolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the preſent moment: this being elapſed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the ſtrongeſt manner. So that a king of France muſt continually have near them a perſon of underſtanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reaſonable; and even in this caſe, ſuch a perſon would always have their pride to combat, which inſpires them with a belief that they are infinitely ſuperior to all the other nations in Europe †.

FRANCE therefore can no more depend on the Engliſh than on any of her other neighbours; her true intereſt and beſt policy is to render her own interior ſtate and condition ſuch as may make her not only entirely independent, but alſo able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to miniſters who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be purſued without an abſolute neceſſity: but let the ſovereign ſhew himſelf a lover of peace, diſintereſted in what regards himſelf, and ſtrictly impartial with reſpect to others, he will then be certain to preſerve all his neighbours

† I wiſh, with all my heart, I could have entirely ſuppreſſed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, ſo little advantageous to a nation, whoſe virtues and genius have rendered it equally well reſpected and eſteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only ſay, that he has here painted the Engliſh ſuch as they appeared to him at that time: one of the moſt happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of ſciences, is, that thoſe prejudices and partialities, which were the cauſe of hatred and jealouſy, have hereby been diſſipated.

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in that dependence which is only durable, becauſe it conciliates the effections, inſtead of ſubjecting the perſons †.

I DARE farther maintain, that peace is the great and common intereſt of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preſerving it between the greater powers by all the moſt gentle and perſuaſive means; and the greater powers ſhould force the leſſer into it, if neceſſary, by aſſiſting the weak and oppreſſed; this is the only uſe they ought to make of their ſuperiority. When I conſider Europe as compoſed of ſuch civilized people, I cannot but be aſtoniſhed that ſhe ſtill continues to be governed by principles ſo narrow, and cuſtoms ſo barbarous. What is the conſequence of that profound policy of which ſhe is ſo vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the reſource in all places and upon all occaſions; ſhe knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the ſole reſource of the moſt inconſiderable ſovereign, as well as of the greateſt potentate; the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with leſs noiſe and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may ſhew his grandeur, though in reality he only ſhews himſelf more ſignally deſpicable. Why muſt we always impoſe on ourſelves the neceſſity of paſſing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourſe is

† It is not ſurpriſing to hear ſuch reaſoning as this now we have acquired juſter notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at ſo great a degree of glory, that conqueſts can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion muſt we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him eſtabliſhing principles, in appearance ſo improper for the ſtates of miſery and weakneſs, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at leaſt from whence it was but juſt recovered? It is by ſuch true, ſolid, and wiſe maxims as theſe, that the memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able miniſters have ſince drawn ineſtimable treaſures.

had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheleſs, we have ſo effectually confounded this truth, that we ſeem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the Engliſh.

The court of London might be conſidered as compoſed of four ſorts of perſons, who formed ſo many different factions; and from this circumſtance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of ſuſpicion, miſtruſt, jealouſy, private and even public diſcontents. I ſhall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own obſervations, or from the lights I received from the partiſans of France, from thoſe who called themſelves ſuch, from the diſcontented, and in ſhort, from many other opportunities which occaſionally occurred. The firſt of theſe factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bedchamber; they were in the intereſt of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who ſeemed diſpoſed to ſuffer himſelf to be governed entirely: ſome of them were tolerably ſkilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the buſineſs of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, becauſe, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheleſs a party among the Scots which was ſeparate from that of the earl of Mar, and even oppoſite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which ſhould have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had ſubdivided itſelf into two.

The ſecond, in all reſpects entirely oppoſite to the former, was the Spaniſh faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the maſter

maſter of the horſe, the Humes, and others of leſs note. The third was compoſed of a number of old Engliſh, who, conſidering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of theſe two nations, were attached to neither, and ſought to render Flanders independent of both, by reſtoring the antient kingdom of Burgundy. The firſt movers of this faction was the chancellor, the high-treaſurer, and Cecil the ſecretary of ſtate, at leaſt as far as one could judge of a man who was all myſtery; for he ſeparated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it moſt advantageous to his own particular intereſt: he had borne the principal ſway in the late government, and he endeavoured with the ſame ſubtilty to acquire an equal ſhare in the preſent; his experience, joined to his addreſs, had already made him be conſidered by the king and queen as a neceſſary man. Laſtly, there was a fourth faction, compoſed of ſuch as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with thoſe before-mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themſelves, unleſs that they would not ſeparate nor unite with any other; their character was purely Engliſh; they breathed a ſpirit of ſedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it againſt the king himſelf. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

NOTHING could as yet be diſcovered with regard to any of theſe factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impoſſible to foretel which would at length obtain the aſcendant, and gain the prince in its intereſts. To judge from appearances, his favour would be diſputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the firſt, becauſe by their ſuperior knowledge and dexterity they commonly ſucceeded better than others in gaining their maſter; the

the ſecond, becauſe they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleaſure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet ſufficiently known; beſides, that his acceſſion to ſuch a crown as that of England might occaſion ſuch alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

All that I had to fear was, leſt, among the different ſentiments with which endeavours would be uſed to inſpire James, thoſe ſhould prove to be moſt difficult that were to attach him to the intereſts of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to thoſe of the Northern powers, who were for making three diviſions of the houſe of Auſtria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they deteſted the firſt, as being too powerful and enterpriſing; the ſecond they deſpiſed; but would however have been reconciled to it, by diſuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jeſuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they ſo paſſionately deſired, that they would have ſpared nothing to reſtore it, provided they would have alſo ſeparated its intereſts from thoſe of Spain and Germany, or at leaſt have obliged theſe powers to renounce all pretenſions upon one another.

King James was not ſo well diſpoſed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in deriſion, had called him, "Captain of arts, and clerk of arms." There was ſome reaſon to apprehend, that it would be difficult at firſt to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the antient pretences of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earneſtly. As to myſelf, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had ſpoke of him in terms not very reſpectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conſcientious, eloquent, and had ſome erudition; tho' leſs

leſs of the latter, than of penetration and a diſpoſition to learning. He loved to hear diſcourſes on ſtate-affairs, and to be entertained with great deſigns, which he himſelf conſidered and diſpoſed with a ſpirit of method and ſyſtem; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himſelf. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were ſigns of an eaſy and timid diſpoſition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife †.

THE character of this princeſs was quite the reverſe of her huſband's; ſhe was naturally bold and enterprizing; ſhe loved pomp and grandeur; tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom ſhe ſupported, and had even firſt encouraged, but alſo in England, where the diſcontented, whoſe numbers were very conſiderable, were not ſorry to be ſupported by a princeſs deſtined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak inſtruments in ſolid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was ſo weak as never to be able to reſiſt, nor perſonally to contradict her, though ſhe made no ſcruple publicly to ſhew that ſhe did not always conform to his ſentiments. He came to London long before her: ſhe was ſtill in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wiſhed ſhe would not have departed from thence ſo ſoon, being perſuaded that her preſence would only be detrimental to affairs. He ſent to acquaint her with his deſire, and that with an air of authority, which coſts nothing to aſſume againſt thoſe who are abſent, but ſhe was very little affected by it.

† Anne, daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain, ſhe died in 1619.

INSTEAD of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having of her own accord, and againſt the king's expreſs deſire, appointed herſelf a great chamberlain of her houſhold. She was alſo attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which ſhe had been delivered in Scotland, becauſe endeavours had been uſed to perſuade the public, that its death was only feigned. She alſo brought with her the prince, her eldeſt ſon, whom ſhe in public affected to govern abſolutely, and whom it was ſaid, ſhe ſought to inſpire with ſentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that ſhe was inclined to declare on that ſide. Nevertheleſs, the young prince gave her no room to be pleaſed with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this preſage was ſo much the more happy, as from the aſſemblage of ambition, greatneſs, and generoſity, already perceivable in him, he promiſed one day to become one of thoſe princes who are the ſubject of much converſation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he propoſed making him his model; which was certainly very diſagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was ſaid, had reſolved to deſtroy his French diſpoſition, by having him ſent to be educated in Spain.

THUS I have given ſome account of the ſtate of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the reſt of the principal perſons who compoſed it, will more particularly appear in the enſuing part of theſe Memoirs. Here therefore I will only add, that beſides count d'Aremberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Naſſau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambaſſador from his catholic majeſty, and the envoys from Sweden † and Denmark, were alſo hourly expected,

† Chriſtiern IV.

and

and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewiſe ſome others, but not of ſufficient conſequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe conſidered the gaining England in their intereſts, to be of the utmoſt importance to them.

THE firſt of the foreign miniſters whom I ſaw at the court of London were thoſe of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almoſt immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular paſſed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil ſent his principal ſecretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently ſee me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witneſſes of our converſation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the deſire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the ſame ſtrain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheleſs, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to conſider what he had ſaid as very ſerious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of repreſenting to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the ſervices each had received from the other.

THIS general introduction ſerved me at leaſt to form a judgment of the diſpoſition of the perſon who ſpoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the deſign of which was, to convince me that his maſter ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it ſhould judge proper, in regard to its diſputes with Spain. He ſpoke of Oſtend as a place little worth

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the pains which had been taken to preſerve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low Countries ought to be deprived. I oppoſed theſe ſentiments; and tho' he ſeemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheleſs appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his maſter. He changed the ſubject, by informing me, that his majeſty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the ſolicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majeſty could not have refuſed him, becauſe he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheleſs, he was not diſpoſed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to underſtand was not inconſiderable, he alſo added that of offering me my audience, which was a ſecond obligation, no leſs valuable than the former, as all ambaſſadors were cuſtomarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not alſo regard the deputation of ſuch a man as him as a particular mark of reſpect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I deſired he would give himſelf the trouble to teſtify my gratitude for it to the king.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the pains this ſecretary had taken to perſuade me, that no one, after the king, had ſo much power as himſelf, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewiſe imagined, that, fearing leſt ſome of his competitors ſhould deprive him of any of his important employments, he had ſolicited, and perhaps with great aſſiduity, of the king his maſter, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himſelf degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered juſt as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the ſame opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumſtance, no more than the obſervation

tion which they had made, that ſince James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindneſs; having before then refuſed both to ſee or ſpeak to the prince of Naſſau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of "ſeditious rebels." Theſe deputies began to perſuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inſpire the king of England with more favourable ſentiments in regard to them, but ſhould openly declare himſelf their defender. They had much more to ſay on this head, but it was late, and ſupper was on the tables; I therefore diſmiſſed them, with general aſſurances that they ſhould be ſatisfied.

I GAVE them a more poſitive anſwer to Barnevelt† their principal, when he came to ſee me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in poſſeſſion. Barnevelt, like his collegues, began by magnifying the miſeries to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at ſince the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhauſted condition. He ſaid the States could no longer keep Oſtend, nor reſiſt the Spaniards, unleſs the king of France cauſed a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-ſide, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Oſtend, having proved, they ſaid, by experience, that the Spaniards could eaſily deſtroy, one after the other, all the little ſuccours that were ſent them by ſea, and that immediately on their landing. After all theſe complaints, he concluded, as his collegues had done, that Henry ought to declare himſelf their protector, and enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with them.

I TOLD Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he muſt renounce any ſuch hopes; for that Henry was not at

† John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

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all diſpoſed, through complaiſance for them, to draw upon himſelf the whole force of Spain, nor alone to ſupport the burden of a war, in which, ſuppoſing the king of England ſhould refuſe to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reaſon, I told him, as was really the caſe, that I could neither take any reſolution, nor ſay any thing poſitive to them, till I had at leaſt ſounded the diſpoſitions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt having been at London for a conſiderable time, might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have acquired ſome knowledge of the king, I therefore aſked him what diſcoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having from the firſt been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counſellors, and his own paſſive diſpoſition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but, having apparently reflected that this peace would coſt England dear, if by his inaction the Flemiſh ſhould return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or ſhould be obliged, in order to free themſelves from it, to accept that of France; and having perhaps been made ſenſible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to juſtice, attempted whatever ſeemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became inſufficient to ſatisfy its unbounded deſire. Theſe conſiderations ſeemed to have thrown James into a ſtate of perplexity, ought of which he had probably not yet extricated himſelf; for he had ſaid nothing more to them, than that he would not ſeparate himſelf from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambaſſador, to unite more cloſely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

THESE informations which I received from Barnevelt would have diſſipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of thoſe princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with reſpect to himſelf, I could only perceive diſſimulation,

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or, at beſt, irreſolution; for thoſe of his miniſters whom I had reaſon to believe were beſt acquainted with the ſecrets of his councils, upon every occaſion conſtantly ſaid, that all endeavours to inſpire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the ſituation of their iſland protecting them againſt the enterpriſes of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwiſe, or have deferred taking meaſures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his reſolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed ſuch a miſtake. In conſequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the intereſt of his country, not to conceal from me any of the moſt ſecret reſolutions which had been there taken, upon a ſuppoſition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that ſhe would endeavour to augment their diſtreſs, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

BARNEVELT finding himſelf preſſed, and conſidering me as the confident of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer heſitated to diſcover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of ſo important a ſecret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had reſolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furniſh them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in caſe they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed by the Engliſh and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunſwic and Vandrelep, offering Oſtend to be ſequeſtrated till the concluſion of the treaty; that during this interval, ſome event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at leaſt for the preſent, a

ſtop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain againſt Oſtend.

In order to underſtand what is here ſaid of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is neceſſary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns †, as a ſecurity for the money which ſhe had lent them, with this gracious clauſe in their favour, that they ſhould not give her the poſſeſſion of them, unleſs they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her conſent. As to the other treaty, it was propoſed, in the height of the hoſtilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the conteſted countries under the power of the houſe of Auſtria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which poſſeſſed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is moſt probable, both, were the cauſe of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunſwic, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain ſtill preſerved, or had regained in Flanders, ſhould be comprehended in the treaty, becauſe, ſaid they, they riſqued too much by being ſo near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might eaſily regain poſſeſſion of what ſhe appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of ſeparating ſo brilliant a gem from her crown.

In the afternoon of this day, I was viſited by the reſident from Venice, who was the ſecretary of that republic: he was as free and unreſerved in his diſcourſe with me as Barnevelt had been; for his ſtate was in the ſame ſituation of jealouſy and complaints againſt Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before ſtrongly ſuſpected, of the irreſolution of James: he told me, that this prince, who ſo often and ſo loudly repeated the

† Fleſſingue and Brille.

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high ſounding words "the policy of Europe," did, in reality, concern himſelf with nothing leſs; and that his diſſimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always conſiſted in giving hopes to all, but accompliſhing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to ſay, that it was to ſuch an artful conduct alone he owed his ſecurity when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put thoſe arts in practice, and purſue them more ſteadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whoſe people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with: all which were circumſtances favourable to his maxim.

THESE reflections of the Venetian were at once ſenſible and juſt. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had ſolicited to ſpeak to Henry in his favour: but James ſtopped them by ſaying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious ſubject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that ſcheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Pleſſis, and himſelf, and had bore in their opinions ſo favourable an aſpect: this ſcheme was to make the king of England protector of the calviniſt party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Engliſhman named Wilem, who had entered into his ſervice after having quitted that of his majeſty, to whom he had been huntſman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blank. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correſpondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all theſe particulars in his letters, and having by

his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would ſoon have been diſcovered to be a man of many words and but little underſtanding. The teſtimony which I on all occaſions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

THE ſame day alſo count d'Aremberg ſent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excuſing his not coming himſelf, as cuſtom did not permit ſuch viſits till after he had received his firſt audience of the king. All that paſſed between me and this nobleman conſiſted in compliments, offers of ſervice, and aſſurances of peace and friendſhip, in all which nothing was wanting but ſincerity.

THE king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-ſecond, which was Sunday, ſent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to deſire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was alſo added the preſent of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the firſt he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace; the reaſon was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occaſion to make Henry a compliment, by ſaying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majeſties was to me a preſage of their perſonal union, unleſs a jealouſy of the chace ſhould prevent it; that, in this caſe, I would take the liberty to offer myſelf as arbiter between their majeſties, being ſo diſintereſted and indifferent in this article, that when the king my maſter made a party for the chace, he was ſo far from thinking, like the king of England, that my preſence would contribute to its

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, that he generally ſent me to purſue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he ſaid, I was more happy. Though there was nothing ſerious in all this, I was nevertheleſs glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to inſinuate myſelf into his Britiſh majeſty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in ſuch a manner as might pleaſe the ſelf-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any compariſon with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the ſame time, ſent him half my preſent.

ONE part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue ſhould appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the firſt part of my commiſſion, which conſiſted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambaſſador, foreigner, or Engliſh, was admitted into the preſence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had ſince repreſented to me, that what I intended would moſt certainly be highly diſagreeable to the court, where ſo ſtrong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princeſs, that ſhe was never ſpoke of, and even the mention of her name induſtriouſly avoided.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have been ſenſible of the neceſſity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would ſeem to caſt a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were poſitive, not to mention that they were almoſt laudable; and this was the reaſon I paid no regard to Beaumont's repreſentations, who entreated me to defer putting myſelf to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erſkine and ſome others, who were beſt acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no anſwer on Thurſday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I ſtill perſiſted in my reſolu-

tion, notwithſtanding the reaſons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and ſo late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erſkine had ſent to acquaint him, that the whole court conſidered my intention as a premeditated affront; and that I had ſo offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the ſucceſs of my negociation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with thoſe of my lord Sidney, the viſcount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impoſſible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear leſt a greater evil ſhould enſue, I cauſed all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themſelves others as well as they could. Lewkener coming the next morning to inform me that I ſhould be preſented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the ſatisfaction which he expreſſed at the new orders I had given, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to vanquiſh my repugnance; nevertheleſs, it publicly gained me almoſt as much honour, as if I had perſiſted in my intention, becauſe none were ignorant that I had complied only through abſolute neceſſity.

BOOK XV.

THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and eſcorted me to the Thames, whoſe banks they lined whilſt I went down to Greenwich. This paſſage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, ſelected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northum-

Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace.

I ENTERED into a chamber, where we were preſented with a collation, though contrary to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of England, never to treat ambaſſadors, nor even to offer them a glaſs of water. His majeſty having ſent to deſire my appearance in his preſence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occaſioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and becauſe I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no ſooner perceived me than he deſcended two ſteps, and would have deſcended them all, ſo very deſirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his miniſters, who ſtood next him, whiſpered ſoftly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. "If, ſaid he aloud, I ſhew this ambaſſa-
"dor particular marks of honour, and ſuch as are
"contrary to cuſtom, I mean not thereby to give a
"precedent to others. I particularly love and eſ-
"teem him for the affection which I know he has
"for me, for his firmneſs in our religion, and his
"fidelity to his maſter." I dare not repeat all that he ſaid to my advantage. I received ſo obliging a favour with all due reſpect; and replied, not by an harangue, ſuch as ſome may, perhaps, expect to ſee here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleaſed; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more ſuitable to my ſituation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the acceſſion of James to the throne of England, the praiſes of the two kings; all theſe I compriſed in very few words. I excuſed myſelf from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having himſelf explained his ſentiments in his letters, which I at the ſame time preſented, diſtinguiſhing to his Britannic majeſty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himſelf, and then gave them to Cecil; ex-

preſſing, at the ſame time, how ſenſible he was of their contents, by theſe words, "That he had not "left in Scotland the ardor with which he had al- "ways loved the king of France, and deſired the "proſperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majeſty, though in the ſtyle of common converſation; for that of haranguing was extremely diſagreeable to me. I ſaid, that Henry had given public demonſtrations of his joy, on ſeeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was ſo worthy of it, and for his having been ſo readily and univerſally acknowledged; that if there had been occaſion for the preſence of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, he would have given proofs of his ſincere attachment to his intereſts, and union with his perſon, and have come with pleaſure to any place where his preſence might have been neceſſary. I did not repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the Engliſh at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheleſs, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himſelf, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always com- "mendable, ſaid he, to overcome evil with good." But that he had had the double ſatisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendſhip with France, for another that was not leſs ſo. The late queen was mentioned on this occaſion, but without one word in her praiſe.

AFTER this, his majeſty being deſirous to diſcourſe longer and more familiarly with me, he made me aſcend all the ſteps leading to the throne. I took this occaſion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of ſincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the diſcourſes attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confeſſed that he had for ſome time believed them, but that he had at laſt diſcovered the whole to be only an artifice

tifice of their common enemies, who, by uſing ſuch means to open themſelves a paſſage to univerſal monarchy, had rendered themſelves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very ſevere terms againſt the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleaſure to Naſſau, who was near enough to hear ſomething of what was ſaid; and alſo to the Flemiſh deputies, who were preſent, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He ſpoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war amongſt their neighbours with the greateſt abhorrence; proteſted that he would oppoſe their unjuſt deſigns; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimera's of his predeceſſors. The pleaſure which I received from this diſcourſe was ſufficient to make me deſirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being ſo well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not ſo with the king of France: to prove which, I inſtanced what they had done ſince the concluſion of ſo ſolemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and ſome other grievances. I added, that ſuch was the artifice of the Spaniſh councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining firſt: which conduct was equally dangerous and deteſtable with that which they uſually practiſed, of treating with their neighbours only with the premiditated intention of deceiving them, even by that ſecurity which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that that the reſentment which he ſhewed againſt Spain, before ſo many witneſſes, was as ſincere as it was violent. From this moment the firſt dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this ſubject to that

of hunting, for which he diſcovered an extravagant paſſion. He ſaid, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late ſucceſs of his ſport to me, not as marquis of Roſny, but as ambaſſador from a king who was not only the greateſt prince, but the greateſt hunter in the world: and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, becauſe I was of greater ſervice to him elſewhere; and that if I purſued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exerciſes, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a cloſe inſpection into the proceedings of his miniſters; being far from that blind credulity which the king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Hereupon James ſaid that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and reſiſt the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced ſome inſtances, of which I had loſt the remembrance. He then ſuddenly aſked me as it were by interrupting himſelf, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this queſtion was aſked, that endeavours had been uſed to perſuade this prince, that Henry, ſince his late indiſpoſition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the moſt powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all theſe falſe reports, and ſucceeded. But he further ſaid, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely ſorry; and this was, that his phyſicians had forbid him the chace. To this I replied, that ſuch advice was, perhaps, what he himſelf would do well to purſue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly eſcaped breaking his arm in the chace, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

When

WHEN I acquainted Henry with this part of our converſation, he, in his anſwer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in purſuance to the advice of his phyſicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he uſed to be, and that ſince my departure he had been at the death of five or ſix ſtags without the leaſt inconvenience. "Well," ſaid the king of England to me, ſtill continuing the ſame ſubject, "I underſtand you have ſent part of the "produce of my ſport to count d'Aremberg; and "how do you think he received it? I aſſure you, it "was not at all agreeable to him. He ſays, you "ſent it only to ſhew that you was more regarded "than he; and he is in the right, for I will ſurely "make ſome difference between my good brother "the king of France, and his maſters, who have "ſent me an ambaſſador who can neither walk nor "talk; he demanded an audience of me in a garden, "becauſe he could not walk up ſtairs into a room." James then aſked me, whether the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had been ſent to him, had paſſed through France? and upon my replying that he had; "Spain, "ſaid he, ſends me an ambaſſador poſt, that he "may arrive the ſooner, and finiſh our affairs in "poſt-haſte." Thus upon every occaſion he inveighed againſt the Spaniards. Taxis *, courier-major to his Catholic majeſty, had, in effect, taken his route through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to diſcover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambaſſador was Velaſco †, conſtable of Caſtile, who ſoon followed him.

AFTER all this, James aſked me (for he did not dwell long upon one ſubject) whether I went to the

* John Taxis count of Villa-Mediana. † John Ferdinand de Velaſco duke of Frias.

proteſtant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then, ſaid he, you are not reſolved, "as I have been informed, to quit our religion, af- "ter the example of Sancy, who thought by that "condeſcenſion to make his fortune; but, by God's "providence, did juſt the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and ſaid, that my living in France in friendſhip with ſo many eccleſiaſtics, and being ſo frequently viſited by the pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given riſe to it. "Do you give "the pope the title of Holineſs?" ſaid James. I replied, "That to conform to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed "in France, I did." He was then for proving to me that this cuſtom was an offence againſt God, to whom alone this title could juſtly belong. I replied, that I ſuppoſed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes ſuch titles as they were well known not to deſerve. He ſpoke to me of Du-Pleſſis, and appeared ſomewhat concerned for his fortune and preſent condition: he ſaid, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publiſh his laſt book under his own name; becauſe, by the titles which he therein gave himſelf, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the ſervices which he had rendered the proteſtant religion. He ſaid not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chaſtiſement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he ſaid, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I THINK I have omitted nothing of any conſequence of what was ſaid to me by the king of England, in this my firſt audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, ſaying, it would be time for me to go to ſupper, and to my repoſe. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accoſted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain. Erſkine,

Erſkine, in conducting me croſs the court of the palace, ſpoke to me of his attachment to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and his deſire of being ranked amongſt the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, ſaid pretty near the ſame to me: no one amongſt the Engliſh lords has more underſtanding, capacity, courage, nor poſſeſſes more authority, than he: he manifeſted a great deſire to have a private converſation with me upon the preſent affairs. I gathered from what he ſaid, though he did not ſpeak in plain terms, that he was not ſatisfied with the government; that he blamed the greateſt part of the king's actions; in ſhort, to ſay it in a word, that he had no great ſhare either of fidelity or eſteem for James. It is not neceſſary to ſay with what reſerve and circumſpection I liſtened to ſuch diſcourſe.

THE open declaration which the king of England had made againſt Spain, had given me ſome hopes that the court of London would be inſenſibly prejudiced againſt that court. In the interval between my firſt and ſecond audience, ſeveral things happened which increaſed theſe hopes. An Engliſh catholic, who was likewiſe a jeſuit (as was firſt reported) was ſeized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being queſtioned, he confeſſed that he had diſguiſed himſelf in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppreſſion of the new king of England, unleſs he re-eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion in his dominions ſolely, or at leaſt with privileges equal to thoſe enjoyed by the proteſtants, and unleſs he likewiſe declared himſelf againſt the proteſtants of Holland; that eight other jeſuits had conſpired with him in this deſign, and that they had actually diſperſed themſelves in different parts of London, in order to embrace an opportunity that might offer to deſtroy this prince. But the report was falſe, in regard to the perſon of this ſuſpected Engliſhman, for he

he was not a jeſuit *, but only a ſeminary prieſt. Had the truth of all the other circumſtances been equally well diſcovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almoſt to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reaſon count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indiſpoſition, which was diſſembled, and that he only waited till the ſuppoſed conſpirators had accompliſhed their deſign, or at leaſt till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occaſioned a revolution, which would have releaſed him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous ſuſpicion was carried. The queen was at the ſame time coming to London: this, ſaid they, was to favour the Spaniſh faction; which ſo diſturbed James, that he immediately ſent the earl of Lennox expreſly to forbid that princeſs to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather choſe not to ſucceed in his commiſſion, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his miniſters, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to ſhew themſelves greatly diſguſted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual miſtruſt of the court of Madrid. And now they laviſhed upon her thoſe praiſes of which they had been before ſo ſparing, and ſeemed diſpleaſed with themſelves at the indifference they had ſhewn to her memory; nor muſt I forget that it was not without doing violence

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, charges the jeſuits with having any concern in this conſpiracy, which is the ſame that will be mentioned below.

to

to myſelf, that I refrained following ſuch a general example.

I BELIEVE the Spaniſh faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for inſtead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it ſaid, that ſo far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendſhip and alliance, it was not even ſafe to contract with her; that the ambaſſador of this court had not dared to preſent himſelf in London, and that moſt certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majeſty was compared with that of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Henry's procedure appeared ſo open and ingenuous, and ſo far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it: he, ſaid they, would never have ſent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was moſt neceſſary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both: nor would I myſelf, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of thoſe characters, whoſe concluſion is generally that of beholding one'ſelf at once both diſhonoured and ſacrificed to the public indignation. In ſhort, if an union between the two crowns, which I propoſed, was not in all reſpects the beſt conduct that they could purſue, it was at leaſt the ſafeſt; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings ſhould conſider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they ſometimes reaſoned in the council, and in the preſence of the king of England, very much to the ſatisfaction of thoſe counſellors who were in our intereſts, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almoſt public profeſſion which

which he made of attachment to France, here uſed his utmoſt intereſt and endeavours.

But all this only diſſipated part of my fears; I perceived ſo many other obſtacles, that they almoſt entirely diſcouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only ſcarce appeared ſurmountable. My apprehenſions from the ſecretary Cecil, were but little inferior to thoſe from the queen. He was at this time ſeparated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this ſeparation; for I was ſtrongly perſuaded of the inſincerity of this ſubtle miniſter's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the Engliſh, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but theſe Scotch lords were ſo difficult to manage, and ſo much upon their guard againſt the Engliſh, that he could not but be baffled notwithſtanding all his efforts; and he was himſelf too penetrating not to be perfectly ſenſible of it. Accordingly it was ſaid (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this miniſter I was myſelf of the ſame opinion) that he had ſought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majeſty, only to make himſelf known, and render himſelf neceſſary to this prince; that, having ſucceeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himſelf, and, making uſe of the king's name and authority, would ſilence the queen, the Engliſh, and even the Scots themſelves, or at leaſt would leave to thoſe he ſhould judge proper only ſome faint ſhadow of favour, and would then reaſſume his real character. And what is moſt remarkable, it was not unlikely that this ſubtle man was himſelf the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be ſuch to him; for is it poſſible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the moſt ambitious and moſt tenacious of power of all men, ſhould remain unknown only to them?

But

But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone ſufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the leaſt acquainted, and of which the ſecretary only could give them the beſt information.

SUPPOSING alſo that the Scottiſh party was undoubtedly firm in the intereſts of France, there ſtill remained a material doubt, whether ſo haughty a people as the Engliſh would ſubmit to be governed by foreigners, and more eſpecially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their averſion: and beſides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to poſſeſs the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to ſhew to the earl of Eſſex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might eaſily loſe their influence. Laſtly, to increaſe this unpromiſing aſpect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whoſe repreſentations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been ſo unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his deſigns, now either did it not at all, or did it with ſuch indifference, that their example was far from inſpiring a proper reſolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambaſſadors, in preſence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erſkine who was preſent, three times, as being a common friend, they made me the faireſt ſpeeches imaginable; their averſion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded ſo far as to draw up a kind of ſcheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the diviſion of conqueſts, which they agreed might eaſily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promiſes, and beheld nothing but obſtacles, in regard to which in my preſence they had kept a profound ſilence. A

ſtrange

ſtrange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made ſome diſcovery of what ſort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been preſent at a meeting of theſe ambaſſadors, wherein only thoſe of his majeſty's council and the States-deputies were admitted; that here, inſtead of labouring mutually to ſtrengthem themſelves in laudable reſolutions, each of them had only ſought to draw himſelf out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Daniſh deputy repreſented, that indeed his maſter poſſeſſed a great extent of territory, but for the moſt part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its ſituation, rather expenſive than profitable; that the ſubmiſſion and tractableneſs of the people was an advantage of no uſe to the king his maſter, becauſe, from the prodigious variation of their manners and cuſtoms, he could neither underſtand them, nor could they underſtand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to eſtabliſh a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterpriſe. The Swede ſaid, it would be highly imprudent for his maſter to engage in a foreign war, becauſe his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretenſions to the crown of Sweden, but on the contrary, ſeemed diſpoſed to renew them with more vigour than ever; ſo that the preſervation of his own dominions might probably find him ſufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the reſt of his brethren, explained himſelf in a manner ſo different from his uſual complaints, that, I confeſs, I am at a loſs to conceive what could be the intention of ſo ſtrange a procedure: he ſpoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found reſources ſufficient to preſerve them from all oppreſſion; he ſeemed no longer to deſpair of the ſucceſs of Oſtend as formerly,

ly, and intimated, that his maſters had conceived a deſign which would more than indemnify them for that loſs, ſuppoſing it ſhould happen. The Engliſh miniſters taking their text from a ſaying of the king of England, That every new king if he had the ſmalleſt degree of good conduct, ought at leaſt to let a year and a day paſs before he made any innovation, though of the ſmalleſt conſequence; concluded unanimouſly, that it would be moſt prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we conſider theſe geniuſes of the North † with ſome little attention, we ſhall perceive they conſtantly preſerve ſome affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few reſources in their imagination, little conſtancy in their reſolutions, and not the leaſt tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is ſo much the more glorious to that great queen.

I NOW only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spaniſh councils, as I was with thoſe of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real deſigns of that crown, what propoſitions ſhe had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally, what ſteps ſhe intended to take for the accompliſhment of her deſires; for barely to underſtand that the king of Spain ſought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at moſt very little. It was ſuſpected that Spain meditated ſomething of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared ſo much the leſs to be neglected, becauſe Aerſens and Barnevelt both at the ſame time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at

† The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done juſtice to the wiſdom and policy of ſome of the Northern powers.

Paris,

Paris, the other at London. I therefore uſed my utmoſt endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greateſt impreſſion upon me was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a conſiderable penſion, under the name of a preſent, with great ſecrecy, one night when I was going to bed, ſent his ſecretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

FROM the moment king James aſcended the throne of England, ſaid his ſecretary, the king of Spain has not ceaſed to ſollicit him, either by his own agents, or thoſe of the archdukes, or by the Engliſh catholics, to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with him, againſt France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might perſuade him that both of them, but more eſpecially that his Britannic majeſty, had a title ſo clear and inconteſtable to ſeveral provinces in France, that it would be ſhameful in him not to make uſe of it, at a time when the exhauſted condition of that kingdom preſented ſo fair an opportunity: and the means propoſed by Spain to ſecure the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, were, that James and his catholic majeſty ſhould, at the ſame time, demand of France the reſtitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refuſal, to fall upon theſe provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic majeſty for this purpoſe, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretenſions upon the United-Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they ſo ardently deſire, upon a ſuppoſition, however, that, in conſideration of this favour, they would conſent to ſtrengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their deſigns. The king of England

England having made no anſwer to all theſe great offers, farther than by ſaying, that they were premature, and that he choſe to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new ſubjects, and by ſtrengthening himſelf upon the throne, Spain eaſily perceived that this reply was a civil refuſal; and James not being diſpoſed by open force to attempt the recovery of his antient poſſeſſions, Spain then turned her endeavours to perſuade this prince, at leaſt to favour the French provinces in their deſign (of which ſhe informed him) to erect themſelves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been repreſented to James to be extremely eaſy to effect. It has been ſaid, theſe provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to ſhake off their inſupportable yoke; the Spaniſh emiſſaries, ſeconding theſe diſpoſitions, have every where reported that it only depended on themſelves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquility without taxes, ſubſidies, or military garriſons, under ſhelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cauſe to apprehend either the reſentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, becauſe care would be taken at the ſame time to involve him in ſo many other perplexities, that he would be under a neceſſity of ſuffering them to preſcribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the ſecretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this ſecond propoſition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, becauſe the Spaniſh emiſſaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majeſty, have ſeveral times been obliged to change their ſyſtem, or ſucceſſively to repeat the ſame again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treaſures of Spain, to uſe them againſt France in whatever manner he ſhould judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he ſhould conclude

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no treaty without their conſent, nor ſhould concern himſelf in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have deſcended only to deſire that he would give no aſſiſtance to the United Provinces.

If the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the moſt imminent danger, becauſe a ſingle word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a moſt terrible ſtorm. But for my own part I confeſs, that to me this appears ſo extravagant and ſo much beyond the bounds of probability, that, from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of propoſing to king James, any thing like the firſt propoſitions which are here related. Suppoſing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England, in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconſiderable diſcuſſion, yet had they well conſidered how many other difficulties would ariſe from a difference of religions, intereſts, manners, and cuſtoms, both between themſelves and with the French provinces which they ſuppoſed conformable to their ſentiments.

That article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone deſtroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to ſubject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that ſuch an enterpriſe was alone capable to deſtroy, or at leaſt for a conſiderable time to prevent the execution of their common deſigns, becauſe France, being once convinced that her own ſafety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conqueſt, would have conſidered aſſiſting the ſtates as defending herſelf; and if Spain propoſed to gain theſe provinces in her intereſts, ſhe ſhould herein have been more groſly deceived; for

for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their moſt mortal enemy, much leſs to incline them to aſſiſt her in her conqueſts, and that too of their antient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought, they upon all occaſions have conſtantly ſaid, that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably diſpoſed towards them; and if ſometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference abovementioned, it was either to excite the French to make ſtill greater efforts in their favour, or to inſpire the Engliſh with the ſentiments of France in regard to them: beſides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquiſh territories, which her own force might acquire?

In regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërſens muſt be conſidered only as one, becauſe the former received his information from the latter, could be ſufficiently depended upon; the firſt might have been deceived, and the ſecond might have ſought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the ſucceſs of their affairs. In regard to the three Engliſh lords, I was ſo far from depending upon what they ſaid, that, on the contrary, I ſuſpected they were themſelves the ſole authors of the whole ſcheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, preſented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as perſons of conſequence; which was quite ſuitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but ſhe would be pleaſed to hear ſuch reports ſpread, and even that ſhe would gladly uſe her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention ſeriouſly to confer with his Britannic majeſty concerning them, nor even

even that they ſhould come to his ears, but only with deſign to encreaſe the diſcord, and augment the number of the ſeditious in thoſe provinces of France which were intereſted therein. It was in theſe terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who ſometime conſidered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and ſometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a deſire to deſtroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all theſe ſchemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheleſs, to be attentive to whatever paſſed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limoſin, Pays d'Aunis, in ſhort, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the ſame bad effects as though they had been true.

THE day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his Britiſh majeſty conferred the honour of knighthood on ſeveral perſons, he ſent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a ſecond audience the day on which I myſelf had deſired it, being Wedneſday the 25th; that I ſhould be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few perſons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences cauſed by great numbers, and, ſaid he, that I may conſer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occaſion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of ſeeing and diſcourſing with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. I took ſome refreſhment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accoſted by little Edmonds †, who made me a long diſcourſe, in which he complained, that he was not treated ſo well as his paſt ſervices, and his know-

† Edmonds had been agent and afterwards ambaſſador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

ledge

ledge of the affairs of France, deſerved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our converſation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

IMMEDIATELY upon my entrance this prince aroſe, and, having commanded that no one ſhould follow him, he conducted me through ſeveral apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majeſty for having thus given me an opportunity to diſcloſe myſelf to him, on the ſubject of my commiſſion, without reſerve, and without witneſſes; "Not, ſaid "I, that the king my maſter has ſent me to require "any thing of your majeſty, but only to be informed "of your intentions in regard to affairs wherein your "majeſties may both be equally concerned; and that "the king my maſter may conform to them, as a "good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly ſaw the king of France and I acted, with reſpect to him, required that he ſhould not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore diſcover to me his moſt important ſecrets. He then, in a few words, pretty juſtly deſcribed the preſent political affairs of Europe: "in "which, ſaid he, it is neceſſary to preſerve an equi-"librium between three of its powers," meaning the houſes of Bourbon, Auſtria, and Steuart. He ſaid, that of theſe three powers, the houſe of Auſtria and Spain, from the ſpirit of dominion with which ſhe was poſſeſſed, was the only one who ſought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjuſt deſign was the cauſe that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought ſecretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that ſhe could not complain, ſhe having herſelf ſet them the firſt example; to Henry by her combination with marechal Biron and the diſaffected in France, by the ſuccours ſhe had

given the duke of Savoy when at war with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by the enterpriſe upon Geneva, finally, by ſeveral other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by inſtigating and encouraging the jeſuits and the Engliſh catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the jeſuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither ſide, be conſidered as ſufficient cauſe for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be beſt to avoid it, by continuing, as before, ſecretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a reſolution to purſue more vigorous and effectual meaſures, in caſe Spain ſhould herſelf reſolve upon any open rupture.

I VERY highly applauded ſuch laudable ſentiments, and indeed they really deſerved it; nor could I have ſaid any thing further on the ſubject, had I not, at the ſame time, perceived in the perſon from whom they came a diſpoſition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and ſeemed to tell me, that, having promiſed a little, he ſhould perform nothing. This obſervation induced me to tell his Britannic majeſty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be purſued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the ſentiments of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and that Henry only feared it would be inſufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the reſentment of that crown, whoſe character, upon this occaſion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the moſt natural colours. I repreſented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years paſt; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the ſtates of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England alſo, both theſe crowns owing their preſervation, next to the firmneſs of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky

lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indiſpenſably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to ſap the foundation of ſo vaſt a dominion, it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary now to concert the proper meaſures for it, that no ſtep might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preſervation of the United Provinces might be proviſionally ſecured, was all that I had to deſire of his majeſty. "But, ſaid the king of England, what better aſ-"ſiſtance would you that the king of France and I "ſhould give the Low Countries, than to compre-"hend them with us in a general treaty of partition "and pacification between them and Spain, upon "conditions of which we ſhall ourſelves be guaran-"tees? whereby, ſhould Spain firſt fail in the ob-"ſervation of them, we ſhall then have juſt reaſon "to take arms againſt her, and drive her entirely "out of theſe provinces: and I conſent, added he, "upon a ſuppoſition that this will be the caſe, im-"mediately to determine with you, what means "and what forces we ſhall employ for the execu-"tion of it." James was not ſenſible of all the objections to this partition-treaty, which he propoſed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear ſatisfied with what he propoſed, but during the delays which negociating this treaty would produce, eſpecially with a court whoſe dilatorineſs was one of the chief arts of her policy, Oſtend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being ſeparated from it; and Spain would in the mean time ſtrengthen herſelf in what ſhe did poſſeſs, and would be preparing the means for ſucceeding more effectually in her deſign of ſubjecting the reſt of this ſtate.

I DESIRED his Britannic majeſty to beſtow ſome ſerious reflection upon the conſiderations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for ſome time in ſilence, and ſeemed deeply immerſed in thought; after which, in a heſitating and irreſolute voice, he ſaid, that it muſt be confeſſed I was in the right; that the affair was of great conſequence; that he had often thought of it; though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his reſolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refuſed to tell me; and I thought I ought not to heſitate attacking him in his inmoſt receſſes: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and ſaid, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majeſty's council, and as often as he had heard his miniſters utter ſentiments different from mine, his majeſty might eaſily have been convinced, that they did it only from ſome motives of ſelf-intereſt, becauſe there was not the leaſt room for doubt, that one ſingle examination would demonſtrate as evidently as a million, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent the reſt of the Low Countries from being ſubjected by Spain, becauſe, were ſhe to ſucceed in this, ſhe might, with the ſame forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occaſion, without expoſing theſe Engliſh counſellors ſo much as I could, by a diſcovery of part of their intrigues, I ſo far acquainted the king of England with them, as to make him ſenſible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn thoſe forces againſt France, which I would perſuade him to employ againſt Spain.

JAMES entered of himſelf into the ſentiments with which I wanted to inſpire him, with reſpect to his council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the ſame opinion with ſome of his courtiers, in what concerned the antient pretenſions of England upon France; that, beſides that the preſent conjuncture

ture and political ſtate of affairs did not permit him to think ſeriouſly about them, he alſo conſidered theſe pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irreſiſtibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whoſe preſcription was more than centenary; which words he repeated ſeveral times: that this conſideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previouſly aſſure me, that whatever his final reſolution might be, at leaſt he would not ſuffer the United Provinces, nor even Oſtend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the preſent I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor preſs him to a concluſion, till he had firſt conferred with two or three of his miniſters, whoſe knowledge, as well as honeſty, he was well convinced of; that beſides, from the reflections which I had ſuggeſted to him, he was now able to diſtinguiſh and reſiſt the voice of paſſion and prejudice: and laſtly, that he would in a ſhort time acquaint me with what might be farther neceſſary for me to know, in regard to his ſentiments and final reſolution.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head ſo ſoon, but James broke it off, by ſaying, that he ſhould finiſh the remainder of it another time, becauſe he wanted now to have ſome converſation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector Palatine had ſtrongly ſolicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refuſed to concern himſelf in it at all, through fear leſt he ſhould favour a rebel. He deſired me to relate to him all the circumſtances of it: which I accordingly did very ſuccinctly; ſo that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be ſolicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himſelf in it; and ſaid, he wiſhed others would meddle as little in the affairs of the Engliſh

catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered theſe laſt words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to underſtand what is here meant, it is neceſſary to be informed, that ſome time before the death of Eliſabeth the partiſans of Spain, having, as uſual, the jeſuits at their head, had raiſed diſturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Tho' religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either becauſe the king of Spain, as his flatterers had perſuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were ſo well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretenſions, or becauſe he ſought to involve the ſucceſſor of Elizabeth in ſuch perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing elſe. The jeſuits, upon this occaſion, very imprudently, it ſhould ſeem, had differed with the Engliſh catholic ſecular clergy: this was chiefly occaſioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-prieſt †, which the Engliſh catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this occaſion, for reaſons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with thoſe jeſuits, nor Spain, but, on the contrary, liſtened very favourably to the ſecular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a paſſport under the hand of Cecil himſelf: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought ſhe ought to defend the ſeculars; and alſo, that ſhe looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the ſame opinion with Elizabeth, and the common intereſt had

† Cardinal D'Oſſat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, ſays, that at the ſuggeſtion of an Engliſh jeſuit, whoſe name was father Perſonio (or Parſons) rector of the Engliſh college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was ſo to any, the Pope created in England a certain arch-prieſt, to whoſe authority all the eccleſiaſtics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be ſubject. By this means, adds he, it was propoſed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

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from the firſt determined him to ſupport the Engliſh clergy at the court of Rome againſt the Spaniſh cabal.

FROM hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occaſion to prejudice James againſt us †, by inſinuating to him, that Henry had ſupported the Engliſh clergy only with deſign to gain them in his own intereſts, and that from the ſame views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this reſpect. I repreſented to him, that Henry having conſidered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spaniſh intereſts, was a point of the utmoſt conſequence; he had therefore been indiſpenſably obliged to appear in their favour upon ſeveral occaſions; but that he had been ſo far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any deſign prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his ſole intention had been to oppoſe this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the leaſt from their duty, or even appeared ſo to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

JAMES was ſo fully ſatisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the roman catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, ſaid he, and "with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards ſeveral opportunities of being convinced that I had not impoſed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the Engliſh catholics. James anſwered

† The king of England cannot be conſidered as blameable for having taken umbrage againſt France upon that account. The ſame cardinal gives us to underſtand, that the political views of the Spaniſh party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the Engliſh catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewiſe true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this deſign, but alſo that he had acquieſced with Elizabeth in quite different purpoſes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

this letter in a more obliging manner than was uſual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reaſons, he not only entered into the ſame views in regard to this affair which good policy had ſuggeſted to Henry, but it alſo ſeemed probable, that to ſecure the Engliſh catholic party, he would chuſe rather to have recourſe to the pope and his miniſters, than to any foreign prince. The pope, on his ſide, did not ſhew himſelf inſenſible of this preference †: one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote againſt that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holineſs would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to ſtay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumſtance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

UPON my departure, at the concluſion of this my ſecond audience, I was informed that this prince was to ſet out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged, that the audience which his majeſty promiſed to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the laſt I ſhould obtain; and, as I was afraid I ſhould not be able to conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this requeſt, all his time being abſolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would ſend his miniſters on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

† We muſt believe either his holineſs had no concern in the political deſign which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal d'Oſſat; or that, perceiving it had miſcarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were poſſible, the king of England, who had at firſt ſhewn himſelf ſo favourably diſpoſed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become ſo himſelf; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to aſcend the throne without oppreſſion.

ACCORD-

ACCORDINGLY, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant-general in Ireland, and the ſecretary Cecil, who was the ſpeaker. After the firſt compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought he could not better ſhew his moſt Chriſtian majeſty how ſenſible he was, both of the uprightneſs of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Oſtend and the ſupport of the States.

I WAS immediately ſenſible of this ſecretary's artifice, and the deſign of it, in thus conſtruing what I had ſaid to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my maſter would have been extremely glad to have had ſome meaſures taken in Europe, to prevent the invaſions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was ſo far from having ſent me to give law to his Britannic majeſty, that he did not himſelf know what conduct to purſue with regard to the affairs of thoſe provinces, with the true ſtate of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, becauſe, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had ſaid to his Britannic majeſty, that that when he ſhould be well diſpoſed towards them, I could engage that the diſpoſitions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I was come about no other deſign, than to be informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

CECIL replied, that he had no ſurreptitious deſign upon me by what he had ſaid, but only to hear my ſentiments of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on

in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterprise seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to shew, that the war would be still less agreeable than the peace, to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expences were requisite in consequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must alone be engaged in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his consent with joy.

I GAVE Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her, instead of laying the foundation of alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself per-

perſonally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheleſs, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in caſe his propoſal for an union with France within a year had been ſincere on his part, becauſe the king of France would rather chuſe to defer the declaration of war againſt Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the preſent ſituation of her affairs, as it was to England.

Upon this occaſion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in terms the moſt explicit, that I was not come to propoſe to the Engliſh council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England againſt Spain; but only to repreſent, that good policy required them not to ſuffer the United Provinces to be oppreſſed for want of ſuccours, which might be given them without diſturbing the quiet of the reſt of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majeſty upon the nature of theſe ſuccours, and the other ſteps to be taken, both at preſent and in future, in favour of the Flemiſh. Upon this, the king's counſellors thanked me for the ſincerity with which I had ſpoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majeſty hereupon, that then he would converſe with the deputies of the States about it, and, if I deſired it, even in my preſence, which I did not think proper to oppoſe: having ſaid this we ſeparated.

Count d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, ſent at laſt to deſire the king of England would diſpenſe with it entirely, on account of his indiſpoſition, and that he would only ſend one of his counſellors to confer with him. James did not appear ſatisfied with this procedure; he however granted him what he deſired, and Cecil was the perſon charged with this commiſſion. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himſelf,

ſelf, being deſirous to avoid giving any new cauſe to vilify him upon this occaſion, ſought to be excuſed, and deſired that he might, at leaſt, have an adjunct, that is, a witneſs of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanſwerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was deſirous the public ſhould believe he abſolutely poſſeſſed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the perſon aſſociated with him.

D'Aremberg confined himſelf wholly to compliment, and to the moſt general terms: when preſſed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a ſoldier, and had no ſkill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to ſay to him, and that, after him, his maſter would ſend a man of buſineſs. Theſe words were repeated and ſpread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deſerved: indeed no ambaſſador was perhaps ever before guilty of ſo great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people ſo acute as the Spaniards; it was of great diſſervice to them in the Engliſh council, and brought part of thoſe who compoſed it to favour me; and if the deſigns of Spain were not hereby entirely fruſtrated, which they might have been, it was becauſe his aukward behaviour was repaired by the addreſs of the other partiſans of this crown, having Cecil himſelf at their head, notwithſtanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was ſaid that the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who began to be no longer expected, would ſoon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the diſſipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counſellors appeared diſpoſed to fall into their former irreſolution. I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted, but this ambaſſador would make propoſals to his Britannic majeſty, accompanied by irreſiſtible offers,

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part of theſe counſellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the ſums contained in this account on one ſide, and the treaſures of Spain diſburſed in London on the other, nothing might be proof againſt them.

WHAT was moſt remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majeſty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In purſuance of his majeſty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was preſent with him at divine ſervice, in which there was a ſermon: he ſaid nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our ſetting down to table; the converſation turned almoſt entirely upon the chace and the weather: the heat was exceſſive, and much more violent than was uſual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myſelf who ſat with James at table, where I was not a little ſurpriſed to behold that he was always ſerved on the knee: a ſurtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained moſt coſtly veſſels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

THE converſation continued the ſame as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to ſpeak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, with ſome ſort of contempt; he even went ſo far as to ſay, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princeſs, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her miniſters, by whom he had been better ſerved and obeyed than herſelf. He then called for ſome wine, his cuſtom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glaſs in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without

without forgetting his children. He inclined himſelf to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me ſoftly, that the next health he would drink ſhould be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houſes. He had never till now ſaid a ſingle word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well choſen. I failed not, however, to receive the propoſal with all poſſible marks of joy, and replied ſoftly, that I was certain Henry would not heſitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the ſame ſubject. James, ſurprized at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the ſame offers of the Infanta for his ſon, as ſhe had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be ſtill in the ſentiments in which I had left him in our laſt conference; though he gave me no opportunity of converſing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were preſent, that he approved every thing that had been done in the laſt conference between the counſellors and me: that he would not ſuffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which ſuccours were to be granted them ſhould be ſettled. For this purpoſe, he gave orders that his counſellors ſhould, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought theſe words ſufficiently authoriſed me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majeſty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the preſence of his miniſters. Having found means, in the courſe of the converſation, to drop ſome few complaints of the piracies of the Engliſh upon the French, the king ſaid, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the Engliſh admiral, who appeared himſelf inclined to vindicate what had been done.

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At laſt, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he uſually paſſed part of the afternoon, and ſometimes even the whole of it.

The journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hope I ſhould without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to ſay; and this gave me ſome conſolation for having done ſo little this day. For notwithſtanding what has here been ſaid of reſolutions and ſuccours in ſupport of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the iſſue which I deſired; for the king of England ſtill referred me, for the concluſion of them, to the ſame perſons as before; and theſe, I very well knew, were not diſpoſed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy preſage, for they were very far from conſidering themſelves as having ſucceeded in their offenſive and defenſive alliance with France and England with which they had ſometimes flattered themſelves. They reſolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at leaſt ſecure France in their intereſts.

For this purpoſe Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehenſions in regard to the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, which was always ſaid to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the loweſt ebb of deſpair, would abandon every thing, and ſeek an aſylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt obſerved, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the Engliſh council, and not I, which was to be perſuaded; becauſe I was ſufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed ſituation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France ſhould openly and alone eſpouſe the cauſe of the United Provinces, before their

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ſtrength and ſpirits were entirely ſpent and exhauſted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, becauſe I was come to London only, if it were poſſible, to enter into an aſſociation with the Engliſh, and in caſe they refuſed this, to know their reaſons.

After this, we had ſome diſcourſe about the towns deſtined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemiſh deputies, had given him to underſtand, that England, being reſolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the ceſſion of thoſe places as a ſecurity; and in conſequence of this ceſſion, Cecil only promiſed him, that theſe towns ſhould be preſerved in a ſtrict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as intereſting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reſerve which ought to be obſerved by a man entruſted upon oath with the ſecrets of his council, that the States had put things in ſuch a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could ſee itſelf in poſſeſſion of thoſe places. But from hence he alſo inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the conſequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reaſon that he preſſed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confeſſed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the reſolution of his maſters; but that the king of France, upon this occaſion, could only lament their ſituation, not being in a condition to ſupport them with open force againſt Spain and England together.

In the afternoon, all the Flemiſh deputies came in a body to aſſiſt in the conference; and ſoon after them the Engliſh counſellors, appointed by his Britannic majeſty, alſo arrived. Cecil being, as uſual, the

the ſpeaker for all of them, began by ſaying directly, that the king of England was really in the intereſts of the States. And turning to me, he aſked me, whether this was not what I deſired, and the real deſign of my commiſſion? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt haſty procedure of the ſecretary; and inſtead of giving him a direct anſwer, I addreſſed myſelf to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings deſigning to intereſt themſelves in their affairs, they ought therefore juſtly to repreſent the ſtate of them, that from a full and perfect knowledge of their neceſſity, the ſuccours which they wanted might be aſcertained. Barnevelt, as uſual, drew a picture of the miſeries to which Spain had reduced them; and theſe he deſcribed in as lively and affecting a manner as he poſſibly could. But to come more immediately to the buſineſs, he ſaid, it was neceſſary that the Spaniards ſhould be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to ſucceed in this in the ſpace of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United-Provinces amounted to above twelve or fifteen thouſand infantry, not including the garriſons, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides fifty ſhips actually in a condition to ſerve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was neceſſary, than for the two kings to double theſe forces, by furniſhing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I WAS apprehenſive theſe propoſitions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authoriſe the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he ſhould have been more careful only to aſk what could be granted. I then aſked Cecil, in a manner ſomewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his maſter, in regard to what was here promiſed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic

tannic majeſty would have been glad to have maintained himſelf in a ſolid and ſincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the ſtate of France, and from mere appearances, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was probably of the ſame ſentiments. Nevertheleſs, that from the remonſtrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to purſue the medium between his own deſires and thoſe of the States, that is, he would conſent privately to aſſiſt the United Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at preſent they muſt expect nothing farther.

THE deputies, not doubting but this reſolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themſelves upon what had been ſaid by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his diſcourſe, ſaid, that indeed the king of England was very willing to aſſiſt the States, but that he had no deſire to ruin himſelf for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of theſe pretended ſuccours, that he might not be afterwards anſwerable for any promiſes or poſitive engagements; but he ſaid, that in caſe Spain ſhould carry her reſentment ſo far as perſonally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both ſides, France muſt contribute eight thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the ſame rule might be obſerved in regard to the ſquadrons which it would be neceſſary to have upon the coaſt of Spain, and in the Indies; and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of theſe forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly ſacrifice it for the ſervice of the common cauſe.

I WAS extremely diſſatisfied at the Engliſh ſecretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any poſitive

poſitive agreement, by purpoſely evading the ſtate of the queſtion, and by raiſing only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a ſubject to be talked of in ſo vague a manner; that it was above all things neceſſary, without an equivocation, abſolutely to determine what ſhould be done in favour of the United Provinces, and for the relief of Oſtend; that, after this, whether the council of his Britiſh majeſty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other conſiderable matters to diſcuſs, in regard to the following ſuppoſitions; firſt, that this crown ſhould attack only one of the two kings, or ſhould attack them both; ſecondly, that the two kings ſhould declare themſelves the aggreſſors; and, laſtly, that they ſhould endeavour to make conqueſts upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more ſenſible that he ſcarce entered at all into the affair, I repreſented to him, that, in caſe of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the ſuperiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, beſides twenty thouſand men which he would have in Flanders, would alſo be indiſpenſably obliged to have the ſame number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Breſſe, not to mention the ſquadron of gallies which he muſt alſo have to ſecure the Mediterranean; that it was neceſſary even now to determine theſe matters, and to prevent being expoſed to a thouſand perplexing diſcuſſions, ſufficient to deſtroy the harmony between the allied princes.

THEN replying more particularly to what Cecil had ſaid, I told him, I could not conceive for what reaſons he was for caſting upon the king of France the whole or greateſt part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by ſuch means

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the Britiſh council ſought to diſtreſs Henry, it but ill underſtood its intereſts, nor conſidered that, though an equality of expences ſhould be ſtipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than theſe: ſuch were thoſe for the defence of her coaſts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be leſs ſerviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all theſe reaſons, I thought the Engliſh council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the ſum lent to France; that Henry was far from expecting any ſuch matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to diſcharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he propoſed to pay two hundred thouſand livres; but again, that the Britiſh council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by ſhewing, from their unreaſonable difficulties and ſuſpicions, that their ſole view was more and more to exhauſt France; which conduct was very malignant, and abſolutely oppoſite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifeſted nothing but honeſty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

What I ſaid made not the impreſſion upon my hearers which I deſired; on the contrary, the Engliſh took fire, and proteſted, if any thing farther was inſiſted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more eſpecially, in this conference, completed his making himſelf known to me for what he really was; he made uſe only of double expreſſions, vague propoſals, and falſe meanings, being perfectly ſenſible that reaſon was not on his ſide. The moderation and ſincerity which I oppoſed to his ill-deſigning ſubtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a ſingle word I made him feel the ridiculouſneſs of what he ſaid, put him into con-

confuſion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; ſometimes he endeavoured to ſhew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wreſt any words which might drop from me of the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciouſly ſuppoſed that we had ſaid things which we never thought of; he proceeded ſo far, as to endeavour to raiſe diſcord between me and the deputies, by caſting upon me the refuſal of openly aſſiſting the States: he, and his collegues by his direction, demanded that France ſhould immediately pay to England, in part of what ſhe owed, forty or fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; and he told the deputies, that theſe ſums ſhould be employed for the relief of their moſt preſſing neceſſities, and, upon my refuſal, they all ſaid it could be imputed only to me, becauſe, ſaid they, all the money in France was in my diſpoſal. If all the merit of thoſe we uſually call able politicians conſiſts in thus endeavouring to enſnare the open and undeſigning, and to make theſe bear the blame of their wickedneſs, while they at the ſame time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very deſpicable thing. What piqued me the moſt was to ſee theſe miniſters, who were here only to ſet forth the intentions of the king, impudently ſubſtituted their own inſtead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly perſuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my preſence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

THE deputies, who had returned, and were preſent during this, again retired, greatly diſſatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; whereupon Cecil again changed his battery: he ſaid, that ſince the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unleſs her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the beſt conduct therefore

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which the two kings could purſue, would be to continue to live in friendſhip, but without intermeddling with any foreign diſputes whatſoever. This, probably, was what the ſecretary really propoſed; and, notwithſtanding the length and frequency of his diſcourſes, was all he had ever uttered with ſincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the Engliſh, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, ſaid, they would relate to the king every thing which had paſſed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things ſhould be expeditiouſly ſettled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my laſt, and that wherein I ſhould take my leave, becauſe, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept ſilence upon this occaſion, moſt certainly it was not becauſe I acquieſced in what they ſaid, on the contrary, the manner in which they had again expoſed themſelves, and as it were confeſſed themſelves to be liars and impoſtors, had inſpired me with the utmoſt contempt for them; but I judged, that expoſtulation or paſſion would be ſo far from making them quit a reſolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture, whereas, as matters were at preſent ſituated, friendſhip at leaſt ſubſiſted between the two kings, and as this friendſhip might be more ſtrongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) ſome more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not abſolutely deſpair of the ſucceſs of my commiſſion, becauſe I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the deſigns which his counſellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in reſpect to this, was what I propoſed in my third audience, for I do not conſider as ſuch my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince ſent

ſent Erſkine to tell me, that it ſhould be on the day after the conference here related, and that I ſhould bring but few of my retinue with me, becauſe he wanted to diſcourſe with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords, Hume and Seaford about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two ſecretaries.

THE king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that none ſhould follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he alſo ſecured. He embraced me twice, with expreſſions that ſhewed how greatly he was ſatisfied with the king of France and me, and how ſenſible he was of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's having ſent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was moſt neceſſary to him; he inſiſted, that making uſe of the preſent opportunity, I ſhould ſpeak to him without any reſerve. This moment therefore ſeemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his miniſters; and, after the uſual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all reſpects to confer with him than his counſellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the laſt conference, had alſo, without doubt, given him a falſe account of what had paſſed between them and me and the Flemiſh deputies; and I promiſed, if he would give me leave, to give him a ſincere and juſt relation of every thing.

THE king approving my propoſal, I acquainted him with all that had paſſed between us the preceding evening; I inſiſted more eſpecially upon the demand to diſcharge the debt owing to England, and on the aſperſion upon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added,

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that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with elogies on the generoſity, the prudence, and the perfect friendſhip of the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, and this becauſe he himſelf had authoriſed me to do it, both by his words and actions, I ſhould be obliged, on a ſudden, to write to him in a quite contrary ſtile, without having any reaſon to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my maſter could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful miniſter, to the intereſts with which he had entruſted me; and it would beſides, be conſidered as the effect of a determined friendſhip, with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might enſue between the two kings, whoſe intereſt as well as inclination required their continuing in a conſtant ſtate of union. I thought I ought not to heſitate upon informing the king of England, that there were ſeveral of thoſe whom he admitted into his council, who were neither well diſpoſed in themſelves, nor well affected to his perſon; that, without naming them to him, he ought to conſider as ſuch all thoſe who appeared ſo little ſolicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to adviſe him, under the name of an ally, to render himſelf the ſlave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in ſome degree, diffident of ſuch perſons whoſe characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wiſdom, than the repreſentations of his miniſters.

It was no difficult matter to inſpire the king of England with a diffidence of his miniſters, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my laſt words, his geſture, and ſome expreſſions that eſcaped him, convinced me my obſervations was juſt; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praiſes I laviſhed on him, this prince was at laſt in

in the moſt favourable diſpoſition I could wiſh him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our converſation ſome general hints of a project, by which, with the aſſiſtance of his Britannic majeſty, the tranquility of all Europe might be ſecured. Having ſaid this, I remained ſilent, as though I had been apprehenſive of fatiguing him by too long a diſcourſe: but I knew the curioſity of James would be excited by the little I had ſaid; accordingly he replied, that my diſcourſe had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and aſked ſome of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, ſaid the king to me, returning, I will "break off the party for the chace which I had "made for this day, that I may hear you to the end; "and this employment will, I am perſuaded, be "of more ſervice to me than the other."

THE reaſon that induced me to hazard a ſtep of ſuch conſequence, as that of communicating to king James the great deſign upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being perſuaded this prince was already of himſelf inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this reſolution from ſome great and noble motive; and becauſe, on the other ſide, his miniſters conſtantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently becauſe he could not ſupport himſelf againſt them, from a perſuaſion that they oppoſed his ſentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very neceſſary.

I THEREFORE reſumed the diſcourſe, and told him, that, without doubt he had ſometimes thought, and with good reaſon, that a man in poſſeſſion of the places and honours with which I was known to be inveſted, never quitted his poſt but for a very urgent

occaſion: that this was my caſe; that though my commiſſion was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheleſs, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been ſilent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had reſolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to diſcourſe with his Britannic majeſty on ſomething infinitely more conſiderable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of ſuch a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without expoſing myſelf to ruin, unleſs he would engage by the moſt ſolemn oath to keep it a ſecret. James, who liſtened to me with a profound attention, heſitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unneceſſary, he endeavoured himſelf to diſcover what it was of ſo intereſting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my anſwers to the different queſtions which he ſucceſſively aſked me gave him not the leaſt light into the affair, he ſatisfied me at laſt by the moſt ſacred and ſolemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy ſacrament.

Though I had now nothing to fear from his indiſcretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was moſt intereſted, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent ſoever he might perhaps have ſuppoſed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no leſs certain that I was attached to mine, even ſo much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king; that I had neglected nothing which might incline the king my maſter to eſtabliſh it in France upon ſolid foundations, being under great apprehenſions leſt it might one day be overwhelmed by ſo powerful a faction as that of an union of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, the archdukes, the catholic princes of Germany, and ſo many other ſtates and communities intereſted in its ſuppreſſion;

preſſion; that my ſucceſs hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party oppoſite to the houſe of Auſtria. That becauſe theſe circumſtances might change, or becauſe I, who was the only perſon that would uſe any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might loſe my place and his favour, I did not ſee how the king of France could reſiſt a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this conſideration had long inſpired me with the thoughts of finding a perſon for the execution of this deſign, who by rank and power would be more proper than me to accompliſh it, and fix Henry in his ſentiments. That having found all that I had ſought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of ſpeaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himſelf to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a deſign to which he would always appear to have put the finiſhing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

THERE remained only to explain to him the nature of this deſign, of which at firſt I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an aſſociation of all the princes and ſtates in Europe, whoſe intereſt it was to diminiſh the power of the houſe of Auſtria, the foundation of which ſhould be an offenſive and defenſive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the cloſeſt union of the two royal houſes of Bourbon and Stuart. I repreſented this aſſociation in a light which ſhewed it might be very eaſily formed. There was not the leaſt difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the proteſtant princes and ſtates; and it might be rendered ſufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes alſo:

for example, the turbulent and ambitious diſpoſition of the duke of Savoy might be ſoothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promiſes to diſtribute among them thoſe parts of it which the houſe of Auſtria poſſeſſed, as Bohemia, Auſtria, Hungary, Moravia, Sileſia, &c. and to re-eſtabliſh their antient privileges: even the pope himſelf might be gained, by granting him the property of thoſe countries of which he only poſſeſſed the fœdality. In regard to the king of France, though I endeavoured to perſuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming; I, however, ſaid, that when I ſhould have communicated it to him, I could ſafely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conqueſts which might be made, or of being recompenſed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greateſt part of the burthen would fall upon him, as well in the expences neceſſary for the carrying on the enterpriſe, as his own perſonal ſervices. I imagined it was moſt proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too abſolute an obligation.

THE king of England immediately ſtarted ſome objections, upon the difficulty of uniting ſo many different princes ſo differently diſpoſed; the ſame nearly which Henry had made when we had laſt diſcourſed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the ſlight ſketch which I had given him of the deſign, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expreſſed a deſire of being more circumſtantially informed of it. In conformity with which deſire, the following is the ſubſtance of what I ſaid to his Britannic majeſty.

EUROPE is divided into two factions, which are not ſo juſtly diſtinguiſhed by their different religions, becauſe the catholics and proteſtants are confounded together in almoſt all places, as they are by their political

litical intereſts; the firſt is compoſed of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spaniſh Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic ſtates of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewiſe muſt be compriſed, the catholics diſperſed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jeſuits, whoſe views, no doubt, are to ſubject every thing to the Spaniſh monarchy. The ſecond includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Pruſſia, Livonia, Muſcovy, and Tranſilvania, though theſe countries are ſubject to the chriſtian religion, becauſe the wars in which they are almoſt continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in ſome manner foreign in regard to thoſe of the weſtern part of Europe.

WERE the power to be eſtimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the ſlighteſt glance, not very favourable to the ſecond of theſe factions, and the ſuperiority would apparently be determined in favour of the firſt: nevertheleſs, nothing is more erroneous than ſuch an opinion, which may thus be proved; Spain, which muſt here be named firſt of her faction (though from rank and dignity ſhe is only the third) becauſe ſhe is in reality the ſoul of it; Spain, I ſay, including her dominions in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, does indeed poſſeſs an extent of territory as large as Turky and Perſia together. But if it be true (and that it is ſo cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ſhips and inhabitants, this immenſe extent of territory, inſtead of being ſerviceable, is burdenſome.

And if we conſider the other powers of this party, we ſhall every where find reaſon to diminiſh our ordinary ideas. The pope ſeems firmly attached to Spain; and, ſurrounded as he is on all ſides by this formidable power, and having no reaſon to expect ſuccours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his intereſt to be ſo. But as he does, in fact, conſider his ſituation as but little different from real ſervitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the jeſuits only make a vain appearance of ſupporting his authority, it may, doubtleſs, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himſelf from the Spaniſh yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which ſhould offer to render him their ſervice, without the running any great riſk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

In regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which ſeems only to ſerve to encreaſe the jealouſies and quarrels which ſo frequently ariſe between theſe two branches of Auſtrian power: beſides, what is his power? it conſiſts merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Auſtria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Expoſed as he is, on one ſide, to incurſions of the formidable armies of the grand ſignior; liable, on the other ſide, to ſee the territories under his dominion tear themſelves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diverſity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehenſions alſo, leſt the electoral princes ſhould riſe and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the preſent emperor, all things juſtly conſidered, might perhaps be claſſed among the moſt inconſiderable of the European powers: beſides, this Auſtrian branch appears to me ſo deſtitute of good ſubjects, that if it hath not ſoon a prince, either brave or wiſe enough to unite the different members of which Germany is compoſed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whoſe only aim it is, to get their

their liberty, in religion and election, reſtored to them. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the moſt ſincerely attached to the emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, becauſe it evident his religion muſt, ſooner or later, ſet him at variance with his benefactor. But ſuppoſing the emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, ſo long as he ſhall be under apprehenſions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

THUS, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almoſt all the powers on which Spain ſeems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her little ſervice. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themſelves from the dominion of the emperor, and even to aggrandiſe themſelves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the eccleſiaſtical princes, than on the others. A foreign emperor is what they moſt wiſh, provided he is not a proteſtant. Nothing could give the archdukes a greater pleaſure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they ſhould, in Flanders, become ſovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her ſervants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing ſo much leſs for the daughter which he beſtowed upon him, than for her younger ſiſter. As to Italy, it need only be obſerved, that it will be obliged to acquieſce in the will of the ſtronger party.

IT is therefore certain, that the ſecond of the factions here deſcribed has nothing to fear, provided it underſtands its own intereſts well enough to continue in a conſtant ſtate of union. Now it is alſo

certain, that in this ſcheme theſe ſo natural motives to diſunion, do not occur; and that all of them, even that cauſed by the difference of religion, which in ſome ſort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred againſt Spain, which is the great and common motive by which theſe powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the leaſt jealous of his glory, who would refuſe to enter into an aſſociation ſtrengthened by four ſuch powerful kings as thoſe of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, cloſely united? It was a ſaying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could reſiſt theſe four powers, in ſtrict alliance with each other.

THESE truths being ſuppoſed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the houſe of Auſtria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to poſſeſs that dominion only. Theſe methods conſiſt either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of theſe. The firſt of the ſecret means is, to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourſe with theſe countries to the reſt of the Europeans, than ſhe has to deſtroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having alſo a liberty to make eſtabliſhments in the new diſcovered countries as ſoon as they have paſſed the line, this enterprize would therefore be eaſily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thouſand men, all provided and victualled for ſix months; England to furniſh the ſhips, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the moſt powerful, the money and ſoldiers. There would be no occaſion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries ſhould be equally divided.

DURING this, the ſecond of theſe means ſhould be ſecretly prepared, upon occaſion of the ſucceſſion to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far diſtant, in ſuch manner, that under favour of the opportunities which theſe two incidents might furniſh,

furniſh, reaſons might be found to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to reſtore the antient free manner of election.

THE firſt of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this ſtate into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are conſidered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the firſt ſide of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the ſea: the ſecond is bounded by France, viz. by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Meſſin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and Metz, as far as Duſſeldorp. It is only neceſſary to ſecure theſe three ſides in ſuch a manner that they may be inacceſſible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the firſt, France the ſecond, the electors and the other intereſted princes the third. All the towns which ſhould happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately ſubmit.

THE ſecond of the two laſt means, is for the league above-mentioned generally and in concert to declare war againſt Spain and the whole houſe of Auſtria. What is moſt eſſential to obſerve in regard to this war, is, that France and England ſhould renounce all pretences to any ſhare of the conqueſt, and relinquiſh them to thoſe powers who were not of themſelves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alſace, and Tirol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to

the pope, as being moſt convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Iſtria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the moſt ſolid foundation of this confederacy would ariſe from all the parties being gainers by it. The reſt of Italy, ſubject to its petty princes, might perhaps be ſuffered to continue under its preſent form of government, provided that all theſe little ſtates were altogether conſidered as compoſing only one body or republic, of which they ſhould be ſo many members.

THIS is a pretty juſt account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majeſty with the deſign to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confeſſed that I was not myſelf able to elucidate the deſign; that I was not ſurpriſed that his majeſty had at firſt perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it alſo, but that they only proceeded from my own weakneſs, and the impoſſibility of ſhewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long diſcourſes; that I was convinced in my own mind, the deſign was not only poſſible, but that alſo the ſucceſs of it was infallible: that if any thing was found defective in the ſcheme as I had conceived it, it might eaſily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and ſome of the beſt generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be entruſted.

I THEN returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majeſty, that this alliance being the chief and neceſſary foundation of the confederacy which I had propoſed to him, this muſt therefore neceſſarily begin it, without paying any regard to the diſcourſes of prejudiced perſons, or being affected by ſuch frivolous conſiderations as thoſe of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I aſſured him that Eng-

England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amaſſing ſuch vaſt ſums, were only deſigned hereafter to enable him of himſelf to accompliſh the greateſt part of this important deſign; at leaſt, that I could flatter myſelf with ſucceſs in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public ſervice, which operated ſo powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his moſt ſenſible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his deſire of being brought into compariſon with Henry, and of ſharing his praiſes.

My earneſtneſs to ſucceed gave ſuch force and clearneſs to my expreſſions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of tranſport proceeding from his friendſhip for me, and a ſenſe of the wrong meaſures which hitherto endeavours had been uſed to make him purſue. "No, ſir, ſaid he, do not fear that I ſhall ever fail "in what we have together agreed upon." He proteſted with the ſame ardour, that he would not on any conſideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had ſaid would yet farther confirm him in the ſentiments with which I had inſpired him; that he would even now engage to ſign the plan of alliance which I had preſented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himſelf made ſome inconſiderable alterations; that I ſhould alſo ſign it in the name of the king of France, unleſs I rather choſe to carry it with me unſigned, to ſhew it to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in which caſe he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or ſending it back at the end of a month or ſix weeks, approved and ſigned by Henry, he would immediately, and without the leaſt difficulty, join to it his own ſignature. He concluded, by obligingly aſſuring me,

that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promiſe the ſame ſecrecy in regard to all perſons, except the king my maſter, which I had been ſo free as to require of him; and this he extended ſo far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occaſion he revealed to me, and which I therefore ſuppreſs.

Our conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately conſidered my reaſons, he was reſolved to enter into a cloſe alliance with France againſt Spain. He reproached Cecil in very ſtrong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the ſecretary received very aukwardly. "Cecil, ſaid this prince to "him, I command you, without any reply or ob-"jection, in conformity to this my deſign, to pre-"pare the neceſſary writings, according to which I "will then give the dexter *, and all aſſurances to "the ambaſſadors of meſſieurs the States." This was the firſt time he had diſtinguiſhed them by this title. Then turning to me and taking me by the hand, he ſaid, "Well, Mr. ambaſſador, are you "now perfectly ſatisfied with me?"

I replied by a profound reverence, and by making his majeſty the ſame proteſtations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I deſired he would let me confirm it to him by kiſſing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendſhip with an air of goodneſs and confidence which very much diſpleaſed ſeveral of his counſellors that were preſent. Upon my departure, he gave

* This expreſſion ſignifies an oath, or promiſe of alliance, made by preſenting the right hand.

orders

orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to eſcort me to London.

BOOK XVI.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finiſhing hand to the ſeveral particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and ſignified by this prince to his miniſters, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a peace whoſe final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, into whoſe hands it was firſt to be tranſmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occaſion, I was perfectly ſenſible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which neceſſity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propoſe any thing to the king of England but as of myſelf.

JAMES being more entirely perſuaded than I could have wiſhed him, that I had acted only from the ſuggeſtions of my own deſires, and for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion againſt all events which might happen, had never, from the ſecrets which I had revealed to him, conſidered me as the inſtrument of the king my maſter; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himſelf firſt, upon very promiſing appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readineſs. But how great is the difference between ſuch a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein, by virtue of a full power from the king, I might, with

with all the care and exactneſs poſſible, have inſerted every particular in that clear and diſtinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their ſtrength and duration. I ſhould not ſo confidently aſſert, that, upon this occaſion, inſtead of the mere formula, I had reaſon to expect his Britannic majeſty's ſignature of a complete treaty, which it would not be poſſible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a ſigned blank, been an authentic teſtimony, that I have here advanced nothing from ſuggeſtions of vanity or ſelf-love.

But I ſhould reproach myſelf with being guilty of injuſtice, were I to appear ſuſpicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could ſhew himſelf more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be leaſt expoſed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and maſter of its ſentiments, is, however, the moſt changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other inſtance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almoſt always fail in the execution, provided they can find the ſmalleſt colour or pretence for ſo atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a ſolemn promiſe or engagement were not the ſame as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as ſoon as I was gone, the counſellors of his Britannic majeſty would uſe their utmoſt efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the moſt active for this purpoſe, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confuſion from the converſation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were

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ſo many wounds which altogether had abſolutely mortified him.

NEVERTHELESS, it will readily be admitted that I had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of my negotiation: my own ſituation in the affair conſidered †, its concluſion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having ſucceeded in an enterpriſe that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the riſque of being accuſed of exceeding the bounds preſcribed by my commiſſion. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myſelf the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was poſſible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when conſidered in reſpect of Henry's deſign, to which I would readily have ſacrificed all other conſiderations, if I had not completely ſucceeded, it was becauſe I could not perform more, without ſhewing a diſregard to the terms preſcribed, not only in my public, but even in my private inſtructions. However, from what I had done there aroſe one real, and very ſenſible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were ſo many juſt cauſes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was abſolutely fruſtrated, and his Britannic majeſty engaged in another, from which he could neither ſo ſoon nor ſo eaſily return to the former.

† This embaſſy of M. de Roſny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almoſt all the hiſtories and memoirs of that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have ſpoke of it in the ſame manner, though ſome of them, as the authors of Villeroi's memoirs of State, and of the hiſtory of the duke of Bouillon, had no intereſt in exalting the glory of that miniſter. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given even in the moſt minute circumſtances. Vol. ii. p. 577, & ſeq. See alſo the manuſcripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the firſt volume of Siri, Mem. recond. Beſides the detail of the marquis de Roſny's embaſſy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been ſaid here, p. 226, & ſeq. we find quite through this hiſtorian many very curious remarks on the council and perſon of king James, as well as on the affairs of the Engliſh court.

I THEREFORE immediately ſet about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finiſhed, I preſented to the king of England and his counſellors, to be by them finally reviſed and examined: they read it ſeveral times, ſucceſſively retouched it, and made ſome inconſiderable alterations; at laſt it was abſolutely determined in the following manner:

THE king of England, after returning his moſt chriſtian majeſty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambaſſador he had ſent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and alſo between Scotland and France, and expreſſed his intention of applying them perſonally to himſelf by the preſent treaty, which in a manner comprehended them all, beſides its other principal deſign of their own perſonal defence againſt Spain, and the ſafety and preſervation of their dominions, ſubjects, and allies, in ſuch manner and at ſuch times as the two kings ſhall judge proper. The United Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expreſsly named; in regard to whom it was alſo ſtipulated, that proper meaſures ſhould be taken, either perfectly to ſecure their liberty, or at leaſt, that in caſe they were conſidered as ſubjects to Spain or the empire, it ſhould be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquility, and at the ſame time free the two allied kings from all apprehenſions of a too powerful and abſolute dominion of the houſe of Auſtria in theſe provinces.

HOWEVER, beſides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themſelves openly, when either ſhould require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was alſo agreed immediately to furniſh the States-General with ſuccours ſufficient to ſecure them from oppreſſion; the number of men who were to compoſe

poſe theſe ſuccours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they ſhould be ſent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament ſhould be deſrayed by his moſt chriſtian majeſty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the ſum due from France to England. It was likewiſe agreed, that theſe proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries ſhould be purſued with as much ſecrecy as was poſſible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a ſuppoſition that this power, conſidering this action as an abſolute infraction, ſhould make repriſals upon the two protecting kings, the following reſolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France ſhould furniſh him with an army of ſix thouſand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war; and in four years, and by equal proportions, diſcharge the remainder of his debt. England ſhould act preciſely in the ſame manner, in regard to France, in caſe the ſtorm ſhould fall upon her; the choice of either ſea or land ſhould be in the option of the party attacked, nor ſhould England in this caſe require any part of her debt. Finally, ſhould Spain at once declare war againſt both the allied princes, in order to act offenſively, and at the ſame time promote the ſecurity of Flanders, his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould have an army of twenty thouſand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Breſſe; he ſhould likewiſe have the ſame number of forces in Flanders; and ſhould farther divide the Spaniſh forces, by directing his gallies to cruiſe in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majeſty on his ſide, beſides a land army of at leaſt ſix thouſand men, which he ſhould keep in conſtant readineſs, ſhould ſend a fleet into the Weſt-Indies, and ſhould order another to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Spain. All payment of debts ſhould be ſuſpended, and each ſhould

defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound ſecret, ſhould now be made public, by a treaty offenſive and defenſive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's conſent, ſhould either lay down his arms, diminiſh the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

SUCH was the ſubſtance of the projected treaty which had given me ſo much trouble and anxiety. James ſigned it, and I ſigned it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as ſoon as poſſible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to adviſe Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or diſguiſed part of this important information, and likewiſe the detail of what had laſt happened to me with the king of England, in preſence of his counſellors: my diſpatches had been ſo long, ſo frequent, and yet ſo imperfect, and written in ſo much haſte, that perhaps it was not acting amiſs to ſpare his majeſty the trouble; for he muſt have armed himſelf with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cauſe of my ſilence; for the regularity which Henry obſerved in writing to me, both to inform me of all material tranſactions in the council of France, and to ſend me new orders and new inſtructions, conformable to the ſeveral changes that happened in the buſineſs of my negotiation, ſufficiently perſuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or diſguſted him; but, beſides that upon theſe occaſions, it is a ſtroke of good policy, always to keep ſomething in reſerve, to inſure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expoſe the whole ſecret of my negotiation to the hazard of a diſcovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed ſtill more to increaſe my circumſpection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater conſequence.

AMONG

AMONG the great number of letters which I ſent from London, ſome directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of theſe laſt, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he diſcovered from the contents of my diſpatch by the next poſt, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greateſt conſequence. The courier to whom I entruſted it was one of my own domeſtics, of whoſe fidelity and honeſty I was perfectly ſatisfied: I queſtioned him, and he anſwered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to aſk his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who alſo came and ſpoke to this clerk, and at the ſame time delivered him ſeveral other packets directed for his maſter. This account I ſent to his majeſty, entreating him to make all poſſible enquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majeſty was able to give me no other ſatisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the poſt-maſter of Ecouan.

I HAD before had reaſon to be ſuſpicious, and the affair of the clerk, whoſe roguery I was alſo well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traitor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of thoſe under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithſtanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had deſcribed to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the ſtate, to diſcover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majeſty from London, could not reſiſt his deſire to open this, the direction of which excited his curioſity, for I wrote upon the cover; "Packet to be "given into the king's own hands, without being "opened."

"opened." He repented it no doubt, when he found he could make no uſe of it, its moſt eſſential contents being expreſſed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways diſcover; and this conſideration conſoled me for the loſs; but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards diſcovered the truth, which juſtified theſe conjectures.

HENRY could have wiſhed that I had practiſed upon the queen of England and the prince her ſon, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithſtanding the reports which had been current, this princeſs remained ſtill in Scotland, and would not arrive for ſome time, his majeſty did not think it a ſufficient conſideration for me to make a longer ſtay at London, whilſt ſeveral other affairs, almoſt as important, required my preſence at Paris; and he was the firſt to preſs me to return as ſoon as poſſible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs moſt over the abſent; my friends loſt yet more than myſelf from my not being among them. I entruſted Vaucelas † my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majeſties which I had brought for her; and I inſtructed him in what he ſhould do and ſay, to obtain what the king deſired to know concerning this princeſs.

WHILST I was very buſily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the ſiege of Chartres broke out afreſh, and cauſed a fever, which retarded my departure for ſome days, and even prevented my writ-

† Andrew de Cochefilet, Baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counſellor of ſtate and ambaſſador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's ſecond wife. The houſe of Cochefilet is mentioned in Du Cheſne, as one of the moſt antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the houſe of Baliol in Normandy.

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ing as uſual to the king. But as ſoon as I was ſomewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodneſs to ſpare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occaſion, by ſending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpoſe to receive me; and that he ſhould be at Weſtminſter ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleaſed, becauſe he propoſed to go a-hunting the ſame day, "to diſſipate the uneaſineſs, added he, very obligingly, "which he ſhould feel for my departure."

I ATTENDED his majeſty ſo early in the morning, that he was not dreſſed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Weſtminſter is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majeſty with all poſſible marks of eſteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was alſo moſt true, and the more ſo as he could not hope for my return, becauſe my many and various avocations would detain me in France: but he proteſted, and confirmed his proteſtations in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, by whatever perſon his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould ſend back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would ſign it without any farther diſcuſſion. He ſpoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, ſaid he conſidered this prince as his ſole model as well as his friend; and proteſted, that he ſhould look upon all thoſe who were enemies to him, as enemies to himſelf. To ſhew me that he had not forgot any of his promiſes, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promiſed not to permit any interceſſion or acceſs to him, from any of the ſubjects of the king of France; and required the ſame deference from the king of France, particularly with regard to any jeſuits who might be found in diſguiſe,

guiſe, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ſhips; he praiſed Henry extremely for having baniſhed this order out of the kingdom, and ſaid, that he adviſed him from his heart, never to be guilty of ſuch an error as to recal them; he inſiſted on this article the moſt: for indeed he hated the jeſuits no leſs than he did Spain; and this averſion was increaſed by his conſidering them as his perſonal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly ſatisfied till I had engaged, as abſolutely as I could, to ſend theſe aſſurances, which he required of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in anſwer to thoſe which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambaſſador was not ſlightly touched *.

Being furniſhed with theſe letters and the form of the treaty, I reſolved to ſtay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all thoſe gentlemen who were with me for this purpoſe, I departed from London, taking the ſame road as at my arrival. Sidney and the Engliſh vice-admiral eſcorted me to the ſea-ſide, and took care to pro ide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and paſſage by ſea.

But I ſhould have mentioned the preſents which I made in England, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. That to king James was ſix fine horſes richly capariſoned, to which Henry added alſo another gift, which ought to be eſteemed ſtill more conſiderable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all reſpects the beſt and moſt complete horſeman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and moſt beautiful Venetian glaſs, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewiſe with diamonds, a

* Matthieu the hiſtorian ſays, the king of England made the marquis of Rotny a preſent of a chain ſet with diamonds of great value.

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fencing maſter, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word, all thoſe whom I have occaſionally mentioned, beſides ſome others, were preſented, ſome with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; ſeveral ladies alſo received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all theſe preſents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be diſtributed in certain places, amounted to ſixty thouſand crowns. Henry's views in making ſo many rich preſents, a conſiderable part of which were even continued as penſions to ſome Engliſh lords, were to retain them, and attach them more ſtrongly to his intereſts. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to diſtribute them ſo as to avoid giving any cauſe of jealouſy between theſe Engliſh lords, and to prevent king James himſelf from conceiving any jealouſy of my intention. The precaution which I uſed for this purpoſe was to aſk his permiſſion, to acknowledge, by ſome ſmall gratuities, the ſervices I had received in his court.

At Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he paſſed ſome days here, during which the queen made a journey to Lieſſe. I did not take any reſt at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readineſs to embark the next day. The weather was ſo bad in the night, that the Engliſh vice-admiral very ſeriouſly adviſed me to alter my reſolution. The leaſt delay appeared no leſs inſupportable to all my retinue than to myſelf, eſpecially to thoſe city-ſparks who find themſelves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all preſſed me with ſuch eagerneſs immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with ſo favourable a reception, that I conſented to ſail as

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ſoon as we could. Repentance ſoon followed our precipitation; we met with ſo violent a tempeſt, that we were in the utmoſt danger; we were the whole day in croſſing the channel, and ſo extremely ſea-ſick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a veſſel with only twenty men attacked us, we muſt have ſurrendered.

A SECOND letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it neceſſary for me not to loſe a moment. At this place I quitted thoſe who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majeſty had taken care to order poſt-horſes to be in readineſs in all the proper places upon the road, in caſe my health would permit me to make uſe of them. I therefore took poſt at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterets.

I WOULD not take any repoſe till I had firſt received the honour of ſaluting his majeſty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the foreſt, where he propoſed to take an airing on ſome horſes that were to be brought there to him; Bellievre, Villeroi, De Maiſſes, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soiſſons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a diſtance, he ſaid, as De Maiſſes afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have ſo much wiſhed to "ſee, he is at laſt arrived; my couſin the count of "Soiſſons muſt be called, that he may be preſent "at the brief relation he will give us of what he "has ſeen, heard, ſaid, and done, of which he has "wrote me nothing; let my horſes be ſent back, I "ſhall not now go into the foreſt."

HIS majeſty would not ſuffer me to kneel to kiſs his hand, but embraced me twice very cloſely. His firſt words were, that he was perfectly ſatisfied with my

my ſervices; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he ſhould take pleaſure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be ſomewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity ſhould preſent, to diſcourſe on ſo many different matters. I began with the perſon of the king of England, which I deſcribed to him nearly the ſame as I have already in theſe Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expreſſed for his majeſty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his deſire to render himſelf worthy of the compariſon. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inſpire him, and how far he was from eſpouſing the part of the revolted French calviniſts. King James was ſenſible from his own ſituation, how very unfit this laſt procedure would have been, having ſo great a number of ſeditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cauſe him much trouble. I added, that if I had myſelf been diſpoſed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very ſerious enterpriſes: I mentioned the affair of the loſt diſpatch, and ſpoke my ſentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majeſty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my laſt audience, and, together with the form of the treaty ſigned by us both, I preſented to him the two letters from his Britannic majeſty, and another letter wrote to his majeſty, ſince my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all thoſe letters to him.

BEAUMONT in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was inſtantly expected in London, from whence ſhe would

go directly to Windſor to reſide there with the king; that many were apprehenſive her arrival would cauſe diſturbance in affairs, and might inſpire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spaniſh ambaſſador was at laſt arrived in England, and, with another from the duke of Brunſwic, was ſaid to be actually at Graveſend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majeſty having ſent ſhips to protect the Spaniſh ambaſſador in his paſſage againſt thoſe of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended ſo entirely upon the alterations which this ambaſſador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windſor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont diſſemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince ſuſceptible of new impreſſions, not ſo much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakneſs, and even ſcruples, leſt, in ſupporting the United Provinces, he ſhould countenance a parcel of rebels.

BEAUMONT wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, deſigned and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he ſeemed perſuaded the deputies of the Low-Countries would never conſent to it, though the emperor ſhould be guarantee of it, becauſe they thought it neither ſtrong enough to oblige Spain to obſerve it, nor even ſufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; beſides, they had a general ſuſpicion of all propoſitions wherein France and England were not concerned. He obſerved that theſe deputies were likewiſe upon the point of returning home, with a reſolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majeſty had given them, that they ſhould not

not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permiſſion which James had given them to raiſe ſoldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of theſe recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by ſaying, that, in order to be ſtill more perfectly informed of every thing that paſſed, and to remind the king of England of his promiſes, if neceſſary, he was going himſelf to Windſor. I take no notice of thoſe paſſages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the higheſt praiſes to my conduct and my negotiation.

VILLEROI having finiſhed reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, couſin," ſaid Henry, addreſſing himſelf to the count of Soiſſons, "what do you think "of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require "it of me, ſaid he, I muſt ſay, that I think the "marquis of Roſny has very great credit with the "king of England; and that he is in a marvelous "good intelligence with the Engliſh, at leaſt if his "relation, and all which you have been informed of, "is true; for which reaſon he ought to have brought "much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty "in a better form than that which he has preſented "to you, which is really nothing more than a mere "project of hopes and fair words, without any "certainty that they will ever be executed." "What "you have ſaid is truly very fine and good, replied "Henry: nothing is ſo eaſy as to diſcover faults in "the actions of others." His majeſty ſtill continued to ſpeak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my elogy. He ſaid, I was the only perſon in France who, with ſo limited a power, could have performed what I had; that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreſeen and expected the difficulties with

which I had ſtruggled, and that he had not hoped I could have ſo eaſily conquered them; that he was perfectly ſatisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me Carte-blanche. "Roſny, ſaid he, "in his conduct has given me an example, which "confirms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, "though I do not know whether I ſpeak it right, "Mitte ſapientem, & nihil dicas:" "and I am "certain, that, if his preſence ſhould again become "neceſſary on the other ſide, he will always be ready to return, and ſerve me with the ſame ability "and addreſs which he has here ſhewn." I ſuppreſs a great part of what, upon this occaſion, the generous ſoul of Henry inſpired him with for my defence: what gave me the moſt ſenſible ſatisfaction, and which I conſidered as infinitely ſuperior to all the praiſes he beſtowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praiſing me to my face, becauſe he knew that thoſe praiſes, inſtead of making me vain and leſs diligent, would only increaſe my deſire of acting ſtill better. Theſe words ſilenced the count of Soiſſons.

I THEN anſwered ſeveral queſtions which the king aſked me, touching the natu e and power of the three kingdoms of Great-Britain, on the character of the Engliſh, and what they thought of their new king. After this, the converſation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumſtantial relation of it, aſſured me that he approved of my conduct therein, conſidering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the eſcape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuſe him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his majeſty with the character of young Servin †, ſuch as I have already given. The king having twice aſked whether dinner was ready, went

† L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is ſurpriſing, ſays he, "how it could happen, that the plague ſhould find means to attack "ſo great a plague as he."

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in to ſit down to table, having firſt directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repoſe till the next day, as being what I muſt very much want, after having rode poſt, and that ſucceeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to ſerve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants were arrived; "And to-morrow morning, "ſaid he, we will renew our diſcourſe."

In the afternoon, the king took the airing in the foreſt, which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at ſupper, he ſent me two excellent melons and four partridges; at the ſame time acquainting me, that I ſhould come to him early the next morning, before any of his counſellors were with him; which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dreſſed, and had breakfaſted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himſelf with looking at a game at tennis then playing in the little court of the caſtle, which was generally uſed for this diverſion. "Roſny, ſaid he, we will take a walk "while the freſhneſs of the morning continues; I "have ſome queſtions to aſk you, and ſome mat-"ters to diſcuſs, on which I have been thinking the "whole night I aroſe at four o'clock, theſe things "having preſſed my thoughts ſo ſtrongly, that I have "not been able to ſleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally ſpent in the ſame manner, during the three following days which his majeſty paſſed at Villers-Coterets. In theſe converſations, I gave him an exact and particular account of all the moſt ſecret and important matters with which he ſtill remained to be acquainted.

I received ſeveral letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may ſerve as a ſupplement to the

affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occaſion all that diſorder which had been apprehended; the diſcontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It ſeemed as though her ſudden change of ſituation and country had made as ſudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from thoſe of the royal dignity, ſhe became diſpoſed to pleaſures and amuſements, and ſeemed wholly engaged in them and nothing elſe; ſhe ſo entirely neglected or forgot the Spaniſh politics, as gave reaſon to believe ſhe had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them, through the neceſſity of eventual conjunctures. Maſſere, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profeſſion of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princeſs repoſed the greateſt confidence, poſitively aſſured Beaumont ſhe was not ſo perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himſelf preſented to her, and made my excuſes to her for not having been able to ſtay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myſelf with the letters from their majeſties.

DURING all this the Spaniſh ambaſſador, whoſe arrival in England had been ſo poſitively aſſerted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was ſo far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windſor, found himſelf at laſt obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what paſſed in it: I only know that he demanded a ſecond, for which the king made him ſuffer a thouſand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's diſtaſte of buſineſs, and his paſſion for the chace, which ſeemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time, his conduct and diſcourſe was ſo far from giving the Spaniſh partiſans any cauſe to deſpair, that, on the contrary, he appeared diſpoſed again to fall into his former irreſolution. Beaumont did not know

know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural diſpoſition, or to the inſinuations of Cecil, who uſed all the means he poſſibly could to make him fail in the obſervance of his promiſes. Happily many new incidents concurred to ſupport this prince againſt all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were ſo imprudent in their conduct, as to be themſelves the principal cauſes of it.

No ſooner was the Spaniſh ambaſſador arrived in London (for he did at laſt arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, miſtruſts, and ſuſpicions. He ſoon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all thoſe whom he conſidered as neceſſary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spaniſh ſervice, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a deciſive ſtroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwiſe than with the aſſiſtance of her protectors by retaining theſe troops in her own ſervice. All theſe proceedings of the Spaniard, being purſued with a ſpirit of pride and independence, were ſo much the more diſagreeable to James, as his natural weakneſs produced in him a repugnance to oppoſe them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambaſſador. A whiſper was likewiſe current concerning a conſpiracy of the Engliſh Catholics† againſt James's perſon. Beaumont conſtantly treated this inſinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true ſtate of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakneſs and the meanneſs of its ſentiments, diſcover an unanſwerable argument to diſprove it.

But a more certain and undoubted conſpiracy was that of ſome Engliſh lords, who formed the de-

† It produced a proclamation, whereby king James baniſhed the jeſuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. iii. p. 217.

ſign of ſtabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the deſign was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the inſtigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and ſeveral others of the principal ſervants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, tho' they had appeared among the moſt forward to do homage to her ſucceſſor. Nevertheleſs Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the ſubject of much diſcourſe. A religious diſpute, which aroſe in the conference between the proteſtants and puritans, increaſed the diſorder. The converſation of the court turned entirely upon the diſputes and quarrels which happened between particular perſons. The earl of Northumberland ſtruck colonel Vere in the face, in preſence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was juſtly incenſed as ſo diſreſpectful and outrageous an inſult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's preſence, and uſed ſeveral other atrocious expreſſions; but they were reconciled to the king by aſking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other ſatisfaction, they converſed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preſerve the honour of thoſe who cannot vindicate it for themſelves.

When from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all theſe public and private differences, I found the affairs was in the moſt favourable ſituation I could deſire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finiſhing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myſelf the honour of writing to his Britannic majeſty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleaſure ratified the plan

plan concerted between his majeſty and me, and that he had ſent the count of Beaumont the neceſſary power to reduce it into ſuch a form as his majeſty ſhould judge proper; I repeated the proteſtations of obedience and attachment, which I had before made him; I aſſured him, that by this I was ſo far from offending the king my maſter, that, on the contrary, I ſerved and obeyed him.

I WROTE at the ſame time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my converſations with the king, and his inclination to ſend me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I alſo ſent Beaumont the treaty ſigned by his majeſty, and gave him likewiſe the neceſſary inſtructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty eſtabliſhed between the two crowns: this would in ſome meaſure depend on that which ſhould ſubſiſt between the ambaſſador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offénce at the ſuperſcription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or ſuch as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myſelf, and repaired it as well as I could.

BEAUMONT having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was aſtoniſhed to find this ſecretary on a ſudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readineſs, and without making the leaſt difficulty; on the contrary, he was laviſh in his praiſes of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and me: all things conſpired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, ſigned, and accompliſhed, in the moſt authentic and ſolemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgements to his Britannic majeſty in a ſecond letter: and to employ all ſorts of counter-batteries againſt the Spaniards, who ſet no bounds to their preſents,

we imitated them in this reſpect, and even gave penſions to all the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the court of king James; the beſt and moſt beautiful horſes were induſtriouſly procured wherever they could be found, and they were ſent, together with magnificent furniture, as preſents to this prince.

THUS was Spain diſappointed in thoſe great hopes ſhe had conceived to our prejudice, from the acceſſion of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making thoſe great armaments which ſhe did this year. On the 27th of May, a ſquadron of twelve Spaniſh galleys, manned with three thouſand ſoldiers, and completely equipped, were beated by only four Dutch veſſels; which was the ſecond loſs of this kind that Spain had lately ſuffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this ſquadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve theſe misfortunes, made ſuch preparations on every ſide for war, as ſpread a terror amongſt all her neighbours; ſhe made herſelf miſtreſs of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and veſſels in the mean time were building in the port of Liſbon, for the embarkation of twenty thouſand ſoldiers. This work was purſued with ſuch indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

EVERY one talked his own way about the occaſion of ſuch formidable preparations: ſome ſaid, that they were deſigned againſt Flanders, particularly Oſtend; others, that they were deſtined for the conqueſt of Barbary, becauſe the king of Cuſco having promiſed the council of Madrid to aſſiſt that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a ſupply of men and money, which that prince kept to himſelf, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many perſons were perſuaded that Spain had a deſign upon France itſelf: the firſt notice his majeſty received of it,

it, was at the ſame time that he was adviſed to be attentive to the caſtle of If, and to the iſlands on the coaſt of Marſeilles. I was then in England; his majeſty wrote me an account of it, but did not ſeem to give much credit to thoſe informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very ſolicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewiſe that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very intereſted; and the pope gave him repeated aſſurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reaſons for not provoking this prince too far.

In reality, all this was unravelled by taking into conſideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the ſame time; and his majeſty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the ſtrict obſervation of diſcipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monſieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune ſhould not be taken away, was ſent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Leſdiguieres, and to throw himſelf into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy ſeemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the ſame time earneſtly adviſed this little republic to liſten to the mediation offered by ſome Swiſs cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious, and long war which had ſo long ſubſiſted between them and Savoy. However, the tranſportation of arms from France and Spain, or Spaniſh Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault † cauſed four thouſand five hundred pikes of Biſcay to be ſeized at Saint-John-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low Countries, notwithſtanding this order.

† Emeric Gobier de Barrault.

The long ſtay which made by Doria on the coaſt of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another myſtery that could not be found out. He had ſailed for the coaſt of Villa-Francha, as if with a deſign to take the three ſons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was ſaid, ſent them there to be educated, and to be raiſed to the firſt dignities of the ſtate †, the government of Milan, and the viceroyſhip of Naples and Sicily, being thoſe he moſt eagerly panted after, probably, becauſe he flattered himſelf, that thoſe titles would afford him an opportunity to ſnatch ſome part of thoſe territories for himſelf. But every one was deceived; Doria paſſed by without landing or ſtopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheleſs, there were perſons who continued to believe that it had been his deſign, but that his reſentment for Savoy's not paying him thoſe honours, nor eſteeming him ſo highly as he thought he deſerved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he ſhould act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for ſtaying longer at Nice, where, ſaid theſe conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had diſcovered the reaſon of his departure, to be an order which they ſuppoſed he had received from Spain to go and join his ſquadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or poſſibly the council of Madrid had nothing elſe in view, but to accuſtom her neighbours to preparations and motions, for which they could not gueſs the cauſe. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of ſome time longer at Nice, they paſſed on the twentieth of June within view of Marſeilles,

† The ſecond of theſe princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbiſhop of Toledo and cardinal.

without

without ſaluting the caſtle of If; their convoy conſiſted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, ſome other Spaniſh troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majeſty was the more attentive to their motions, becauſe he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the ſecret was diſcovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treaſurer of France in Languedoc. Theſe troops, as I was informed by his majeſty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and paſſed the bridge of Green on the firſt of July; they conſiſted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a ſmall body of troops, with a view no doubt to haſten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the ſame month. The remainder of the Spaniſh troops that were drawn from Italy, conſiſted of four thouſand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint George, who took the ſame rout.

Notwithstanding theſe ſupplies, by which the archdukes received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, yet Henry was ſtill of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterpriſe upon Oſtend this year; they themſelves ſeemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being conſiderably diminiſhed. The thouſand horſe that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by deſertion to leſs than five hundred, and thoſe that remained were ſo great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be ſoon obliged to diſband them. Such was the ſituation of the United Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewiſe another advantage over their enemies; a ſmall number of Dutch veſſels who were going to load ſpices, meeting

ing with fourteen Portugueſe galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chace, took five, in which they found great riches, and diſperſed the reſt.

EUROPE, during the courſe of this year, had not more tranquility in the eaſt than the weſt. Mahomet the third, to ſecure himſelf as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the receſſes of the ſeraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abuſed his authority: and was firſt informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that ſhewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the ſultana-mother, and the baniſhment of the ſultana herſelf, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own ſon, and the ſultana his wife to death, and was himſelf ſeized with the plague, of which he died.

BUT it is now time to reſume the affairs of the kingdom. His majeſty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this laſt place, and came to Paris, to attend my uſual employments: theſe were to make the receivers-general of the diſtricts, and other perſons in office, bring in exact accounts; to caſhier thoſe who were convicted of any miſdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to make a proviſion of ſums neceſſary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of thoſe that reſided in foreign courts for this purpoſe; and laſtly, by the mere force of frugality and œconomy, to enrich the treaſury, by diſcharging all the debts his majeſty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the ſtate, at the head of which his majeſty generally placed the penſions he allowed the Swiſs cantons, and was always very ſolicitous to know if they were diſcharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more

more neceſſary the king thought it to ſooth and manage them. He made a preſent of a ſuit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian reſidents at Paris; that republic earneſtly requeſted it of him, and ſet ſo high a value upon this preſent, that they hung up the ſuit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly expoſed to view, and ſerved for a monument to poſterity, of their veneration of a prince who was ſo juſtly famous for his military virtues.

As the new œconomy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greateſt part of thoſe profits which the courtiers and other perſons about the king drew from different places, and leſſened the preſents his majeſty made them from his own purſe, they fell upon methods to ſupply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of ſatisfying them, conſented ſo much the more willingly as it coſt him nothing: this was to prevail on his majeſty to paſs innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, excluſively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promiſed profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among thoſe who thought they had a right to ſome favour from the king; intereſt gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately ſwarmed with thoſe petty monopolies, which, though ſingly of little conſequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the leaſt obſtruction produces miſchief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earneſt remonſtrances to the king on this ſubject; and therefore made no ſcruple to expoſe myſelf to the anger of the count of Soiſſons, with whom, as I have already ſaid, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

The count of Soiſſons preſented a petition to the king

king at Fontainebleau, in which he propoſed that a grant ſhould be made him of fifteen pence upon every bale of goods exported: a deſign that muſt certainly have been ſuggeſted to him by ſome of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himſelf; nor did he know all the conſequences of it, at leaſt he aſſured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thouſand livres a year; and ſo well perſuaded him of the truth of what he had aſſerted, that his majeſty, who thought himſelf obliged to beſtow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewiſe vanquiſhed by repeated importunities, granted his requeſt, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther ſolicitations about it, cauſed an edict to be expedited for the count, which he ſigned, and the ſeal was placed to it; but ſome remains of a ſcruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully ſenſible of, made him, in granting this favour, reſerve a verbal condition, that it ſhould not exceed fifty thouſand livres, preſs too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

THAT evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have ſome ſuſpicion that he was impoſed upon: he wrote to me inſtantly, and propoſed the thing to me as an indifferent queſtion, without telling me what had paſſed, or naming any perſon. I knew not what to think of ſuch a demand, but ſet myſelf to work, and, taking to my aſſiſtance the accounts of the cuſtoms and domain, and entries of proviſions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be leſs than three hundred thouſand crowns; and I could not but think it ſtill of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it ſeemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majeſty. The king confeſſed

feſſed to me all that had happened, with many marks of aſtoniſhment that his confidence had been thus abuſed. The true remedy had been to have cauſed the edict to be brought back, and have entirely ſuppreſſed it, as being obtained by a falſe pretence: but that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soiſſons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majeſty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourſe to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from regiſtering the edict. All that was neceſſary for this purpoſe, was to ſend no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine; this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the ſovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not regiſter any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majeſty ſo, that this expedient would not preſerve me from the reſentment of the count, and of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, who I diſcovered was concerned in this buſineſs; but I reſolved to hold firm againſt the count, provided his majeſty would be proof likewiſe to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, which he promiſed me, and added, that he would openly ſupport me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soiſſons came to my houſe, and paid me many compliments, having, as he ſaid, occaſion for a Maximilian de Bethune at full length: he thought by ſhewing me great kindneſs, and condeſcending to be familiar with me, he ſhould eaſily obtain my ſignature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpoſe he demanded it. I anſwered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never ſigned any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he muſt have recourſe to other means; he acquainted me with what his majeſty had lately done for him, and ſaid, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the ſovereign

ſovereign courts, and me, the ſignature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

At this declaration, I aſſumed an air ſtill more ſerious, and pretended to be greatly ſurpriſed that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom reſolutions of ſuch conſequence were always made known; and from thence took occaſion to tell the count, that an edict of this nature, which bore ſo hard upon the public intereſt, deſerving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myſelf; that therefore he muſt addreſs himſelf directly to his majeſty, or bring me at leaſt an order ſigned by him, which would ſerve to juſtify me againſt the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myſelf ſome time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterneſs, that I only made uſe of this extreme caution to ruin his deſign, and to break with him entirely; but finding theſe words could not alter my reſolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter ſomething between his ſhut teeth concerning our former quarrels; and he went to diſcharge his choler at the houſe of the marchioneſs de Verneuil.

This lady, altho' as much enraged with me as the count of Soiſſons, was yet come to make me a viſit, juſt as I was leaving my cloſet to go to his majeſty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have choſen a worſe time; the too eaſy king had juſt ſuffered a ſcore of edicts, all in the ſpirit of the firſt, to be extorted from him, and, to ſay the truth, of but little conſequence. I ſet out with a full reſolution to make a new attempt upon the king in favour of the people, who would be prevented by theſe extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioneſs aſking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This "is a pretty buſineſs, madam," anſwered I in a paſſion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really

really was, "you are not the laſt among thoſe that "are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the ſixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you intend to do with this?" ſaid ſhe. "I intend," anſwered I, "to make ſome "remonſtrances to the king upon it." "Truly," replied ſhe, no longer able to contain her ſpleen, "he will have little to do to take your advice, and "offend ſo many great people. And on whom, "pray, would you have the king confer favours, if "not on thoſe who are mentioned in this writing, "his couſins, friends, and miſtreſs?" "What you "ſay, madam," replied I, "would be reaſonable "enough, if his majeſty took the money all out of "his own purſe; but to make a new levy upon "the merchants, artiſts, labourers, and country-"men, it will never do; it is by them that the "king and all of us are ſupported, and 'tis enough "that they provide for a maſter, without having ſo "many couſins, friends, and miſtreſſes to maintain."

MADAM de Verneuil loſt none of my words, ſhe dwelt particularly upon the laſt; and, in the rage with which ſhe was tranſported, made uſe of them to form a thouſand wicked ſlanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soiſſons, and told him, that I had ſaid the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning, and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his ſervices, he told him, that I had ſo outrageouſly injured his honour, that he muſt abſolutely have my life, unleſs his majeſty would himſelf do him juſtice. Henry, ſeeing him in ſuch violent emotion, aſked him, with great compoſure, what I had done or ſaid, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another perſon. The count not caring to enter into any explanation,

nation, replied, that if we were both together in his majeſty's preſence, not all the reſpect he ought to have for a perſon who was dear to him ſhould hinder him from doing himſelf juſtice; and added, that what he had ſaid was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accuſtomed to lie. "If "that was the caſe, couſin," ſaid the king, in a voice ſuch as muſt naturally put him in confuſion, "you would not be like one in your family; for "we always produce your elder brother, in particu- "lar, as remarkable for this: but ſince it was a re- "port made to you, tell me who made it, and what "he ſaid, and then I ſhall know what I ought to "do, and will endeavour to ſatisfy you, if you are "to be ſatisfied with reaſon." The count replied, "that he had taken an oath not to name the perſon "from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced for his veracity as his own. "So then, couſin, anſwered the king, you excuſe "yourſelf from anſwering my queſtion, on account "of an oath you have taken, to the contrary; and "I likewiſe will take an oath to believe no more of "your complaint, than what monſieur de Roſny "himſelf ſhall acknowledge to me; for I have as "good an opinion of his veracity, as you can poſſi- "bly have of thoſe who tell you theſe fine tales."

THE count of Soiſſons, when he went out of the king's preſence, diſcovered ſuch an exceſs of fury againſt me, that his majeſty thought it neceſſary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet, and La Varenne, whom, at the ſame time, he ordered to aſk me, if I had not by ſome word or action given offence to the count. I anſwered, that ever ſince the viſit I had received from the count at the arſenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never ſpoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioneſs de Verneuil indeed had been at my houſe, but neither ſhe nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" ſaid the king, when theſe words were repeated to him, "we

" we need not doubt any longer from whence this " miſchief proceeds, ſince Madam de Verneuil is " named; for ſhe is ſo full of malice, and has ſuch " a ready invention, that to the leaſt word of mon- " ſieur de Roſny's ſhe would add an hundred, nay " a thouſand; but for all that, this affair muſt not " be neglected." The rage in which his majeſty had ſeen the count, gave him reaſon to apprehend that he would take ſome violont reſolution againſt me; he therefore ſent La Varenne to tell me, that I ſhould never ſtir out of my houſe without being well attended, and that he deſired I would ſpare nothing for my ſecurity; adding, with great goodneſs, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myſelf, would be far below what it would coſt him if he ſhould loſe me †.

I CANNOT quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied on all the foreign veſſels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our veſſels in foreign ports; nevertheleſs it was with regret, and only by his majeſty's expreſs orders, that I carried it into execution, looking upon it to be one of thoſe exactions which was moſt likely to depreſs the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great oppoſition to the regiſtering them, and

† L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soiſſons to be contented with a letter of ſatisfaction which M. de Roſny wrote to him: and according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soiſſons and the marquis de Roſny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, ibid. 592. De Thou alſo ſpeaks of it, b. cxxix. The ſteddineſs of M. de Roſny has procured him great commendations from our hiſtorians. " He had no conſideration for any thing, ſays father Challons, but " the king's ſervice; nor could any reſpect for perſons of the greateſt " quality, princes, or even the queen herſelf, prevail on him to make " the leaſt conceſſion, where he thought the king's intereſt or glory " came in queſtion; this got him many enemies, and was the cauſe " that, after the king's death, the queen took the management of " affairs out of his hands." Hiſt. de Fr. vol. iii. p. 255.

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the marechal d'Ornano beſtirred himſelf greatly, having money owing him from the ſtate, which had been charged upon that part for his reimburſement. The eſtabliſhment of commiſſioner-examiners, lieutenants-particuliers, aſſeſſeurs-criminels, and other officers of juſtice, met with no leſs difficulty from the ſame court of Rouen, which more than any other oppoſed theſe new edicts; the laſt were made with an intention to ſatisfy and ſend back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in conſequence of theſe new regulations: probably it was the meeting with ſuch obſtacles as theſe to his deſigns, that had long made Henry ſolicitous to ſuppreſs the chamber of requeſts in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earneſtly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Thoulouſe this year, which continued to be ſuppreſſed, notwithſtanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debates ran contrary to him.

THE quarrel between the count of Soiſſons and me, made a great noiſe; but the king, to ſhew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendſhip, ſent me notice by Beringhen ſome days afterwards, that he intended to paſs by Roſny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I ſhould treat him there with his court. The princes, princeſſes, and the conſtable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my gueſt: but the entertainment was diſturbed by an unforeſeen accident; the rivers were ſo much ſwelled by a ſudden ſtorm, that the offices of Roſny were overflowed †, the

† I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he ſays their majeſties with great difficulty eſcaped the danger. "The king, "adds he, laughing, told M. de Roſny, that heaven and earth were "combined againſt him, and that he ought boldly to take care of "himſelf."

fruit

fruit ſpoiled, as well as the labour of the ſervants; the ladies were terrified, ſuppoſing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by cauſing a conduit to be opened, through which the water uſed to have a paſſage, and which had been filled up to make the paſſage more commodious for his majeſty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Roſny, but neither were yet completed.

THE waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

HIS majeſty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accuſed of carrying on correſpondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whoſe kinſman he was; and gave it to Bellifonds. From Caën the king paſſed through Rouen †, where he ſettled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleaſure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princeſs Catherine had propoſed for the duke of Rohan, and who had ſince that time been demanded in marriage by monſieur and madam de Fervaques, for monſieur de Laval the ſon of that lady. His majeſty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

THE affairs of religion were in part the occaſion of the journey his majeſty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewiſe a ſhare ‡ in it. He

† "The king was attacked at Rouen with ſo violent a looſeneſs, "as to void blood, which the phyſicians ſaid came from his having "eaten too great a quantity of raw oyſters." L'Etoile, an. 1603.

‡ It is in vain to endeavour at any juſtification of the duke of Bouillon. His own hiſtorian gives up his defence, after the depoſition of the count d'Auvergne, b. v.

was not quite yet diſcouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was ſtill in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he adviſed to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he ſaid, of the true religion; and had the boldneſs, without aſking his majeſty's leave, to ſolicit Erard, his firſt engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortreſs for him. To ſerve his ambition every thing ſeemed lawful, and ſacred as well as profane things were proſtituted to that purpoſe. He publiſhed a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a moſt outrageous manner, againſt the whole body of the proteſtants: he had already drawn great advantages from this ſtratagem, and ſeconded it on his ſide by counterfeiting it perfectly well great uneaſineſs and apprehenſion of the miſeries which hung over the proteſtants, in conſequence of the new reſolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed theſe libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been compoſed by his friends, and ſent into England with a view to hinder his majeſty from ſucceeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed perſons that Bouillon always impoſed; and on them indeed his pains were not all caſt away. An aſſembly of proteſtants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occaſion of the king's laſt indiſpoſition, in which Du-Pleſſis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewiſe inſolent and preſumptuous; for the praiſes he gave his hero ſeemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any reſpect to his perſon or dignity.

Of all theſe aſſemblies, none made ſo much noiſe as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, cauſed queſtions to be propoſed in it which had a ſtrong tendency to the rekindling a war. The miniſter Ferrier, by their orders

orders, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevail upon the proteſtants to inſert amongſt their articles of confeſſion, that the pope is the antichriſt: ſurely it could not be called a ſpirit of religion, but rather of diſcord and intrigue, that preſided at the deciſion of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewiſe propoſed to ſend printed to all the univerſities of Europe. As ſoon as the king was informed of this ſcandalous proceeding, he ſent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had reſided ſince his return from Normandy, to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs of the proteſtants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith † from being received. Villeroi likewiſe, by his commands, preſſed me to exert myſelf on this occaſion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain ‡ and Deſbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made uſe of to ſhew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they ſaw was reſolved not to ſpare them, I know not, but the article in queſtion was at length ſuppreſſed. The pope, I believe, was under great apprehenſions about it; for he was ſo extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majeſty could appeaſe him: and probably it was to this incident, that the jeſuits owed their re-eſtabliſhment in France. The holy father had the conſolation to ſee his dominions filled with an acceſſion of monks of every kind, Auguſtins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongſt the other ſex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and carmelites: ſo many religious orders were never inſtituted at one time as in this year.

The boldneſs of the proteſtants, on this occaſion, will not appear ſo ſurpriſing, if it be conſidered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another,

† See the life of Du-Pleſſis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find the ſteps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this abſurd tenet.

‡ Deputies from the calviniſt party to reſide at court, according to the cuſtom of that time.

when they were inſolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that thoſe rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whoſe predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Leſdiguieres, and Du-Pleſſis, to render my repreſentations ineffectual, and myſelf the object of their hatred, inſinuated every where, that I ſacrificed, on all occaſions, that very religion for which I pretended ſo much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myſelf with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papiſts, except perhaps a very few, conſider themſelves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my ſtars, or the invidiouſneſs of my place, I muſt honeſtly own I loſt my labour.

WHILE theſe complaints of the proteſtants againſt me ran higheſt, I went one day to his majeſty, with an intention to make him ſuch repreſentations as would ſecure me againſt the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpenſier, cardinal Joyeuſe, and the duke of Epernon: he made me a ſign to approach, and aſked me whether I could gueſs the ſubject of his converſation with thoſe three gentlemen. I anſwered only with a bow. "We were "talking, ſaid the king, of the government of Poi-"tou, and they have adviſed me to give it to you; "could you have imagined this? they being ſuch "good catholics, and you ſuch an obſtinate hugue-"not." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reverſion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to reſign his own for it; but reflecting that all

all his eſtates were ſituated in the provinces he was at preſent governor of, he releaſed Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to reſign this government to the king, that he might diſpoſe of it in favour of one of his natural children.

HENRY likewiſe inſiſted upon my gueſſing his motives for preferring me to this poſt, rather than any other perſon, or thoſe even that were ſo near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his majeſty had of my fidelity and ardour for his ſervice. The king replied, that his true reaſon for giving it me, was, becauſe I was an huguenot, but a reaſonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the proteſtants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly ſatisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no leſs ſo, ſince I was capable of inſpiring them with more dutiful ſentiments, of giving them juſt notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodneſs, and to reſpect and love his perſon; and that, by ſuffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to paſs through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon ſtill preſerved amongſt them might be deſtroyed. His majeſty added (without doubt becauſe theſe three gentlemen, who were alſo joined by Briſac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were preſent) that although he felt ſo ſtrong an affection for his religion, as to wiſh with the utmoſt ardour to ſee it embraced by all the huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made uſe of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerac, and Montauban, eſpecially, to free him from the oppreſſion of Spain, to aſſiſt him in ſupporting his juſt claims, and to ſave even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however diſcontented he might be with thoſe cities for diſcovering leſs duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheleſs he thought himſelf obliged in honour, to con-

tinue the ſame gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated ſeveral inſtances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, "when no Bouillon, ſaid he, "was there to excite them to ſedition;" and could not hinder himſelf from ſaying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the proteſtants.

AFTER this, his majeſty told me, that I might treat directly with meſſieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the intereſt of the ſtate, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were preſent ſaid ſomething in approbation of what his majeſty had done, and praiſe of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words or by low bows. I diſpatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne; and he tranſacted the buſineſs with ſuch prudence, that, by a ſeaſonable preſent of a thouſand crowns to thoſe whoſe advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thouſand crowns. Upon their reſignation, Du-Freſne ſent me, on the ſixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thouſand livres; namely, twelve thouſand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already poſſeſſed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, eſpecially Gergeau, on account of the garriſons; and eighteen thouſand livres from that of Poitou: in this ſum, however, I have always included my ſalaries for the two poſts of ſuperintendant of the fortifications, and of the works.

I MUST not omit giving ſome account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to eſtabliſh the ſtuff manufactures, and eſpecially ſilk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which

which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty eaſy matter not only to ſupply ſilks for our home conſumption, which uſed to be brought from foreign countries and diſtant regions, but alſo to carry on a conſiderable trade with foreigners for this merchandiſe. For this purpoſe, all that is neceſſary, ſaid they, is to give encouragement to ſilk weavers to come amongſt us, to increaſe the breed of ſilk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for theſe ſort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly againſt this ſcheme, which I never approved: but the king was ſo prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonſtrances were ineffectual.

I REMEMBER that one day, when his majeſty did me the honour to viſit me at the arſenal, to confer with me upon the neceſſary methods for eſtabliſhing theſe manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," ſaid he to me, finding I received all the propoſals he made me on this ſubject, with that reſerve and coldneſs which I always aſſumed when I was not in his opinion. "I know "not, what whim this is that you have taken in "your head, to oppoſe a ſcheme ſo well calculated "to enrich and embelliſh the kingdom, to root out "idleneſs from among the people, and which I "ſhould find ſo much ſatisfaction in completing." I replied, that this laſt reaſon had ſo much weight with me, that, if I could ſee the leaſt probability of ſucceeding in the ſchemes for a ſilk manufacture, I ſhould content myſelf with repreſenting to his majeſty that he would purchaſe this ſatisfaction at rather too high a price, and deſtroy by it that which he propoſed to himſelf in the execution of thoſe great deſigns, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me, if I preſumed to tell him,

that I could not, as he did, ſee either glory or utility reſulting from this eſtabliſhment. I then aſked him, if he would permit me to give him my reaſons for thinking ſo differently from him. "I give you "leave, ſaid he, but upon condition that you after-"wards hear mine, which, I am perſuaded, are "more convincing than yours." I then made the following obſervations to his majeſty.

THAT it was through a wiſe diſpenſation of Providence, which deſigned that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, ſhould be obliged by their common neceſſities to have an intercourſe with each other, that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, excluſively of all the reſt: France had the good fortune to be ſo favourably diſtinguiſhed in this diſtribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, ſo univerſally abounded with whatever ſupplied the neceſſities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life, to the reſt of the world: her corn, grain, and pulſe, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, ſalt, wood, oil, dying-drugs, that immenſe quantity of cattle, great and ſmall, which uſually ſerve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the ſcore of any of theſe advantages, but even to diſpute with them thoſe which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

IT is certain that her climate refuſes ſilk; the ſpring begins too late, and an exceſſive moiſture almoſt always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is abſolutely irremediable, affects not only the ſilk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewiſe the mulberry-trees that theſe inſects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is neceſſary in the ſeaſon wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at leaſt before there can

can be any certainty of their coming to perfection; during which we riſk the loſs of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are theſe difficulties, which ought to diſſuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which they do not render doubtful but impoſſible, a real loſs to us? That is the queſtion.

A COUNTRY life affords ſo many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but thoſe who reſolve againſt all work; therefore it is neceſſary to begin, by curing people of this lazy diſpoſition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of ſilk for an employment? firſt they leave one profeſſion, which brings them in a certain and ſufficient income, for another, where their gains are caſual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, becauſe it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, ſuch as agriculture is, conſidered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon ſilk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous conſequences of ſuffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common obſervation at all times and in all places, that the beſt ſoldiers are found amongſt the families of robuſt, laborious, and nervous workmen: if, inſtead of theſe, we enliſt men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has ſtrength to perform, we ſhall be ſoon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majeſty himſelf obſerve, a ſtrong conſtitution, confirmed by laborious exerciſes, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole ſtrength and force of the body. And this military art, the ſituation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it abſolutely neceſſary to hinder from degenerating or being depreſſed.

At the ſame time that we enervate the country people, who in every reſpect are the true ſupporters of the ſtate, among thoſe of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of miſchiefs, effeminacy, ſloth, voluptuouſneſs, and that domeſtic extravagancy which it is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be ſatisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of theſe uſeleſs citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery, conceal the manners of weak women.

The objection, that immenſe ſums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the ſupport of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have juſt obſerved, and deſtroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reaſon juſtly upon the inconveniency that ariſes from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unneceſſary merchandizes, they would be convinced, that the beſt thing that could be done, would be to ſuppreſs the uſe of them entirely, and abſolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the ſame time to fix, by good and ſevere regulations, the richneſs of cloaths and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the ſame footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII †. That neceſſity which obliges us to dreſs in one ſort

† Many edict of this kind were iſſued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. againſt which the dealers in ſilk at Paris preſented many uſeleſs remonſtrances to the king and M. de Roſny. The Memoirs for the hiſtory of France relate in what manner that miniſter received the ſieur Henriot, who ſpoke for them, a good old merchant, whoſe manners and dreſs bore the marks of the ſimplicity and plainneſs of the tradeſmen of former times.---"The next day, ſays the "writer of theſe Memoirs, they waited on M. de Sully, who anſwered them only with diſdain and ridicule; for Henriot having put "one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raiſed him up; "and having turned him round, the better to ſurvey his old-faſhioned "dreſs, being a ſhort holyday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket "and the reſt of his cloaths ornamented with ſilks of different kinds, "in the manner they were formerly worn by merchants, he ſaid to "him, Honeſt friend, what reaſon can you and your company have "to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not this "damaſk,

of ſtuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy; and the price that is ſet upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to conſider, though but with the ſlighteſt attention, the ſource of what is called the faſhion, we ſhould find, to our ſhame and confuſion, that a ſmall number of perſons, and thoſe the moſt deſpicable of a great city, which incloſes all ſorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we ſhould feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compaſſion we have for fools, that theſe very men diſpoſe nevertheleſs of our purſes, and keep us enſlaved to their caprices.

But ſilk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with reſpect to diamonds, jewels, ſtatues, and pictures, if it be conſidered as a grivance, that foreigners take away our gold and ſilver: we muſt likewiſe take into conſideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which theſe metals are made uſe of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the ſums ſquandered fooliſhly in gardens, buildings, coſtly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages ſet up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation? We cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the leaſt neceſſity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endleſs digreſſion: theſe two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parſimony, ſeem only to have been brought into the world, to deſtroy both the one and the other. Theſe are the only people that know what it is to be rich;

" damaſk, this taffety? &c. And, after turning them into ridicule, " ſent them away without giving them any other ſatisfaction; " which made them ſay, as they were returning, Th ſervant is " ruder and haughtier than his maſter." Vol. ii. p. 278.

rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be ſeen by the manner in which they ſpend it: the old chancellors, firſt preſidents, counſellors of ſtate, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find thoſe who now fill their places, and reſemble them in nothing but their titles †.

I SAID every thing I could think of on this ſubject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your "arguments are very ſtrong, ſaid he to me; and I "would rather chuſe to fight the king of Spain in

† Though ſilk, and other materials of luxury, are in ſtrictneſs no otherwiſe good or bad, than according to the good or bad uſe made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purpoſes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be ſufficiently praiſed. The rigid defenders of the chriſtian doctrines do, and always will, eſpouſe his ſentiments: but it muſt be acknowledged, that the politicians of the preſent times, even thoſe who are moſt ſevere, think differently: they find nothing concluſive in thoſe examples of antiquity which are produced againſt luxury, even in reſpect to the times from which they are taken, much leſs in regard to the preſent. According to their opinion, other cauſes brought about thoſe revolutions which were attributed to it; which cauſes having now loſt their force, ſuch revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, occaſioned by the mines of thoſe metals diſcovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the laſt two centuries, has introduced by its natural conſequence luxury or ſuperfluity, which makes the neceſſary exchange againſt the redundance of money, otherwiſe an uſeleſs drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the ſyſtems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any ſtate except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences ariſe from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: beſides, experience demonſtrates more clearly than reaſoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, ſubordination, or a military ſpirit.

As to what relates to ſilk, ſhould we even ſuppoſe with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reaſoning will nevertheleſs be imperfect, as he ſeems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one ſhould ſtill remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be ſent for conviction to our manufactures of ſilk at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in ſpite of what our author ſays in this place, the eſtabliſhment of the manufactures of ſtuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to ſpeak in praiſe of him. See on this article, L'Eſſai politique ſur la commerce, chap. 9. p. 105, ſecond edit. 1736.

"three pitched battles, than engage all theſe peo-
"ple of the law, the offices, and the city eſpecially,
"their wives and daughters, whom you have
"brought upon my back, with all your whimſical
"regulations." "Then it is your pleaſure, Sire,
"replied I, that I ſhould ſpeak to you no more
"upon this ſubject: however, time and experience
"will convince you, that France is not fitted for
"theſe gewgaws." I was obliged to content myſelf with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole encloſure for the new buildings he projected for his ſilk manufactories. I repreſented to him, that he would one day deſtroy what it would coſt him ſo much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a deſign, far more noble and juſt, the Tournelles had been deſtined for another building of a very different kind †. "As things
"ſhall fall out," replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him, that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his houſe, was ready.

It was not, I confeſs, without deep regret, that I ſaw ſuch large ſums of money ſquandered, which might have been employed to ſo many uſeful purpoſes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his miſtreſſes, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thouſand crowns, a ſum ſufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thouſand foot: I could not, though I riſqued the danger of loſing his affection, be ſilent upon this ſubject. He commanded me to give ſix thouſand livres to madam

† The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent ſquare, of ſeventy-two fathom on every ſide, which was to be called the *ſquare of France*; eight ſtreets were to have opened into it, of eight toiſes in breadth, bearing the names of ſo many provinces. The deſign for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a ſtop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal ſquare*.

de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchaſe, at this price, that domeſtic quiet which was ſo often interrupted by his wife and his miſtreſs: but fortunately for him, he eſcaped any broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with-child, but it was afterwards found to be a miſtake; which the king did me the honour to inform me of.

THE colony that was ſent to Canada this year, was among the number of thoſe things that had not my approbation, there was no kind of riches to be expected from all thoſe countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majeſty gave the conduct of this expedition to the ſieur Du-Mont †.

† See in the Septenary, the deſcription of a voyage made to Canada by the ſieur Du-Mont. There is alſo a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again miſtaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a farther account of this matter to L'Eſſai politique ſur le commerce.

Liberty and protection, theſe two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flouriſhing ſtate, may, in another ſenſe, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to ſay, as the author of theſe Memoirs remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe ſhould be excluded from it, but that it ſhould be indiſcriminately ſhared amongſt them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the moſt general advantage, is by excluſive privileges, granted not to private perſons, but to whole companies, acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget obſerving here, that the firſt company for carrying on a trade to the Eaſt-Indies was eſtabliſhed in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerard-le-Roy. The edict of this eſtabliſhment, which bears date the firſt of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and ſixth articles are ſomething remarkable, it being therein ſaid, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the neceſſary funds, the diſunion amongſt the members, and all the other cauſes, which have ſo often ſince occaſioned the deſtruction of this inſtitution, prevented its having the propoſed effect at that time: it was reſerved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more ſolid and durable baſis.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA